THE DARKER THE FLESH, THE DEEPER THE ROOTS: TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITY AND SECOND-GENERATION BLACK IMMIGRANTS OF CONTINENTAL AFRICAN DESCENT

A Dissertation

by

JEFFREY F. OPALEYE

Submitted to the Office of Graduate and Professional Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Chair of Committee,	Joe R. Feagin
Committee Members,	Jane A. Sell
	Mary Campbell
	Srividya Ramasubramanian
Head of Department,	Jane A. Sell

August 2020

Major Subject: Sociology

ABSTRACT

Since the inception of the Immigration Act of 1965, Black immigrant groups have formed a historic, yet complex segment of the United States population. While previous research has primarily focused on the second generation of Black immigrants from the Caribbean, there is a lack of research that remains undiscovered on America's fastest-growing Black immigrant group, African immigrants. This dissertation explores the transnational identity of second-generation Black immigrants of continental African descent in the United States.

Using a transnational perspective, I argue that the lives of second-generation African immigrants are shaped by multi-layered relationships that seek to maintain multiple ties between their homeland and their parent's homeland of Africa. This transnational perspective brings attention to the struggles of second-generation African immigrants. They are replicating their parents' ethnic identities, maintaining transnational connections, and enduring regular interactions with other racial and ethnic groups while adapting to mainstream America. As a result, these experiences cannot be explained by traditional and contemporary assimilation frameworks because of their prescriptive, elite, white dominance framing and methods that were designed to explain the experiences of European immigrants.

The current study employs a qualitative approach, using an online questionnaire and semi-structured interviews to explore the experiences of fifteen, second-generation Black immigrants of continental African descent, and was guided by the research

question: How do second-generation African immigrants subscribe to Black racial group identification and align their own identity?

The results from the study revealed three major findings regarding the experiences of second-generation African immigrants. One, respondents believed that was a disconnect or tension between African immigrants and African Americans, which resulted in the perpetuation of negative stereotypes towards one another. Two, respondents did not participate in transnational activities such as sending remittances or keeping up with the political agendas, but actively engaged in traveling and visiting Africa. This finding reveals how being connected transnationally has changed between the first and second-generation. Lastly, respondents identified themselves as *other*, which is based on a set of multiple identities. Overall, this study provides a contribution to the social science literature on immigrant adaptation and to the analysis of the experiences of second-generation Black immigrants of Continental African descent.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the African Diaspora with the conviction that one day, we as a people, will not only find each other again, but we will unite and thrive together. My brothers and sisters exist all across the world, situated on different continents, and live in cultures that are distinct from each other like the four seasons. Although our ethnicities may differ, what is consonant is the phenotypic traits we share. We are Black and we are from the continent of Africa. Our Black is beautiful. Our Black is royalty gold. Don’t let no one damage your African soul.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to acknowledge, praise, and give all the glory to God. God, thank you! Thank you for allowing me to start and finish this entire doctoral program. There were many times where I was uncertain, doubtful, and lost. However, through it all, you were there with me. You heard my cries late at night. You heard my prayers early in the morning. You never left me. You gave me faith, hope, and love. I thank you and love you.

I would like to thank my committee chair, Dr. Joe R. Feagin, and my committee members, Dr. Jane Sell, Dr. Mary Campbell, and Dr. Srividya Ramasubramanian. I collectively thank you all for approving my dissertation, but in particular, I thank you your support and guidance through this entire process. I am grateful for your critical insights and support for the work I will continue to produce and publish in the near future. Individually, Dr. Feagin – I am grateful for your support. You saw something in me, and you never looked back. To study and learn from you has been a true honor and an experience that I will always remember. I thank you for being patient with me. These past several years, you consistently challenged my intellectual thinking and motivated me to write something that gave readers something to read. Thank you for being a great professor and my chair. I hope I can follow in the steps of your work and impact the lives of students, just as I have learned from you. To Dr. Sell, thank you for your support and for being patient with me as well during my academic journey. Although I don't think you ever knew, your words of encouragement and care helped me tremendously

during my times of uncertainty and unrest! Thank you for always having your door opened to me and advising me to stay in touch! Thank you for helping me see the finish line! Happy retirement! I wish you all the best and please stay in touch! To Dr. Campbell, I want to thank you immensely for agreeing to work with me. I appreciate your commitment to supporting me in the pursuit of completing program. I am deeply grateful for your kindness. To Dr. Ramasubramanian, I want to thank you for your support. Thank you for reminding me of the importance and significance of my research. I appreciate your willingness to listen to me and offering me valuable insight for my work. I appreciate you all tremendously.

To Marisa and Christi, I cannot thank you enough for your help in assisting me throughout this program. Thank you for all that you do in the department. To the incredible and remarkable cohort (Fall 2015), I appreciate and respect you all. I remember when we first started the program, we were all lost. We did not know what to do or how to do it. However, as time progressed, we slowly, but surely, figured things out. I am proud of each and every one of you. You guys are amazing, and I know that you will excel beyond the stars. Thank you for your kindness, laughter, and good times. Peace and blessings to you.

To Dr. Veeda Williams, thank you. Thank you for being who you are. As an undergraduate student, sitting in your class at PVAMU, I never thought in a million years I would be here. Pursuing a master's degree or doctoral degree was not a part of my plan. However, you saw something in me. You advocated for me and you invested time in me. I truly thank you for everything you have done for me. Dr. Royster, thank

you for your insight and guidance. I am always appreciative of the words of wisdom you provide me with in our conversations. To Dr. Dianne Mosley, Dr. Kenneth Jackson, the late, great Dr. L. Alex Swan – there are not enough words or gratitude that I can say. You are a true inspiration to me and have played a vital role in my life. Thank you for your continuous support and guidance in my life as well as in my academic journey. Dr. Phelps, there aren't enough thank yous in the world to express my gratitude for what you have done for me. I appreciate you. I am grateful for your support, insight, and guidance always.

Special thanks goes to Ms. Victoria Eseigbe and family, Mrs. Patricia Harris and family, Ms. Cordelia Forshee and JD Forshee, John and Dana Massey, Mrs. Nilda Kendall, Mrs. Deborah Brooks, Ms. Racine Reid, Ms. Yasamin Iduarte, and Mr. Tony Parker. Thank you for playing an instrumental role in my life for so many years. To Kelly and Ms. Gwendolyn Lee, thank you for your continuous love, support, and prayers throughout this journey. To my friends (old and new), I appreciate you all. I appreciate your prayers, support, and all the wonderful moments we have shared. I cherish you all.

Lastly, but certainly not least, I want to give a special thanks to my family. Your continuous prayers, words of encouragement, love and support throughout the years is truly appreciated, and I do not take it nor you for granted. You have supported me unconditionally and there are not enough thanks yous. My love and honor goes out to the late Chief David Oyewola Jemiyo – Grandfather and Chief (Mrs.) Leticia Ebun Jemiyo – Grandmother. Grandfather, I was blessed to share a few moments with you early in my childhood years. Although you are not physically here in the present, I can feel your

spirit through me. I know that you are watching over us and protecting us. You have a grandson who is officially a doctor. I am Dr. Jeffrey Opaleye. I hope you are proud of the man that I have become thus far. I love you. Grandma, I give thanks to God for keeping you healthy and safe throughout the years. I am truly thankful for your prayers. You are prayers are the reason why I am still here. Your words have my changed my world. I thank God for your love, life, and the lessons you have taught me. To my many uncles, aunts, and cousins across the globe, thank you so much for your words of encouragement, love, prayers, and support as I embarked on this journey. I am thankful for you all. I love you all.

To my mother, Grace, I have pondered on what I write in this acknowledgement section for you. I am still not sure what to write. However, what I am sure of is that you deserve every ounce of my gratitude. Every. Single. Ounce. MAMA, WE DID IT! Your son is a doctor! Thank you for always being there in my life. You have LITERALLY fought to keep me alive since the day I was born, and I cannot thank you enough. I still do not know how to manage to do all that you did for my sister and I, but you did it effortlessly with style and grace. I have the most amazing mother in the world. I typed these words so you could always have them near you. I want you to know that I love you and thank you! To my sister and my first best friend, Naomi, thank you for supporting me. Thank you for encouraging me and believing in me when I did not believe in myself. You always gave me the right words of encouragement. Although I'm the oldest, I look up to you and aspire to be great like you. You are an amazing woman. I am proud to call you my sister. I love you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

As with their future countrymen, the story of immigrant Africans begins with migration. Immigrant Africans' arrival will impact not only American society, but also become a significant feature of Black America -- a population who are the descendants of West Africans whose forced migration is markedly different from that of subsequent twentieth-century arrivals. The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade sits as the central feature of the African Holocaust that facilitated the transportation of millions of Africans throughout the Western Hemisphere. Scholars relate that the hundreds-of-thousands that arrived on the North American Continent were a pittance of those transported forcibly. These dubious events are the genesis of the African presence on the North American continent. Unlike other Africans forced to places such as the Caribbean and Brazil, those planted on the North American continent reproduced themselves and developed a culture that distinguished themselves as neither fully American nor fully African.

The issue of immigration has always been a contentious matter for this nation -- a nation that is ironically a nation of immigrants. As with most matters, the injection of race into the immigration issue problematizes things in unexpected ways. Hence, it should not be surprising that in the period after the signing of the Immigration Act of 1965, the arrival of Black immigrants from both the Western Hemisphere and Continental Africa would become an issue not only for Whites, but also a skeptical Black America whose frame of reference facilitated their belief that these new arrivals

were not kin. For the sake of clarity, the focus of this study is the African immigrants whose immediate ancestry is tied to Continental Africa, a reality that distinguishes them from Black immigrants arriving from Western Hemisphere locations such as Haiti, Brazil, and Belize. For the sake of clarity, I will refer to those that I am studying as African immigrants, however, they are a portion of a larger grouping of "Black" immigrants. At the present moment, there are 4.2 million Black immigrants in the United States. According to Pew Research Center data, the above figure quintuples figures from the 1980s. At the present moment, African immigrants make up 39 percent of all Black immigrants. This figure is notable as it is up from the 24 percent figure recorded in 2000 (Anderson and Lopez 2020). Black immigrant arrivals are a diverse group with notable differences of physical features, cultural traditions, and economics.

However, researchers have sought to answer a riveting question of what happens to the second generation of Black immigrants. When one considers that the alluded-to populace has been born in a foreign land filled with new-found cultural influences, parents often seek to counterbalance with recollections regarding a fading homeland. Studies are indicating that what can be best termed the second-generation of Black immigrants have made a definite impact on the culture framework and viewpoints of the descendants of American chattel slavery. These unprecedented developments among Blacks have inspired a trend of research that focused on matters such as the adaptation and negotiation of "blackness" and racial identity.

Much of the existing literature focuses on the second generation of Black immigrants sired by Caribbean-born parents. The alluded-to studies highlight a cultural

paradox that is best termed a DuBoisian duality of being pulled by the allure of a Caribbean whose vibrant culture serves as an irresistible siren and an American culture filled with possibilities. Put simply, the alluded-to population's feelings of being true to their past or adopting the present are very real (Vickerman 1999, 2001; Waters 1994, 1999). It is quite interesting that such riveting intellectual terrain remains largely unmined beyond Black immigrants born outside of the Caribbean. The experiences of African immigrants, America's fastest growing Black immigrant population, suffers from a dearth of scholarship.

Scholars have yet to investigate the experiences and adaptation processes of Black immigrants from Continental Africa. So, it stands to reason that we know very little about how they have navigated demands to conform and undeniable yearnings to maintain their cultural identity. This research fills the above void by examining the multi-faceted transnational identity issues impacting second-generation Black immigrant prodigy of continental Africans. This work will answer the following question: *How do second-generation African immigrants subscribe to Black racial group identification and align their own identity?*

This research provides a conceptual framework that explains how second-generation Black immigrant descendants of continental Africans are shaped by multi-layered relationships created and sustained by an ancestral memory and a present homeland. The population under examination is continually engaged in the negotiation, creation, and forging of an unprecedented transnational identity.

Significance of Current Research

This study addresses how second-generation Black immigrants of African descent manage the multiple challenges of maintaining an ancestral past while embracing their new homeland. I will examine how structural factors as well as cultural and social processes impact forging identities that are stark contrasts to that of their African-American countrymen.

This study impacts current theoretical orientations of Caribbean-born immigrants that have stood for far too long as the only adaptation process of Black immigrants. Although the experiences of Black immigrants hailing from the Caribbean is a welcomed contribution to this field of study, it is short-sighted to consider it representative of all experiences. The concept of assimilation has been considered the foremost priority of Black immigrants. Such beliefs rest on a host of givens such as (a) a common path for arrival into the U.S., (b) a desire to adopt African-American culture, and (c) the belief that such adoptions are crucial to one's success in America. Such beliefs make the gradual fading of the cultural practices of their ancestral land in favor of a new-found American culture a given.

Assimilation theories rest on several assumptions. Foremost of these is the framing of assimilation as a perpetuation of "stereotyped knowledge, racial images and understandings, racial emotions and racial interpretations" (Feagin 2013). The above definition is applied exclusively to Black immigrant groups. It is considered a given that assimilation with the dominant White culture is a pre-requisite to securing first-class citizenship status. Unfortunately for non-white immigrants, broad theoretical constructs

fail to differentiate the identities of Black immigrants. This failure has forced me to deviate from standard word usage such as *assimilation* in favor of a more appropriate word of *adaptation* that better allows a discussion of the structural constraints and exclusionary strategies faced by second-generation Black immigrants of African descent.

This research emphasizes the importance of examining second-generation Black immigrants of African descent within a *transnational* perspective that brings awareness to their "transnational struggles...as they balance their own cultures with mainstream expectations" (Kebede 2018) while also offering a more illuminated understanding of a continually expanding African diaspora. It is only through the lens of a new paradigm focused on the African diaspora that one is able to recognize subtle cultural and lifestyle differences between first and second-generation Black immigrants of African descent.

Lastly, this study contributes to literature regarding the experiences of second-generation African immigrants. While previous studies have attempted to answer questions regarding the degree to which the above population assimilated with dominant culture, many of the ancillary questions regarding their comfort within a stifling white culture remain unanswered. Included in this list of unknowns is the question of "Do Black immigrants eventually become African-Americans?" Such a question involves a consideration of the impact of the American tradition of cultural stereotypes delivered via the media and standard socialization processes to all citizens. This unwarranted ingredient certainly problematizes conceptions of "blackness" to a point that it becomes an undesirable achievement for Black immigrants of African descent. The above issues make this study of America's largest and fastest-growing Black immigrant group a

missing, yet essential portion of a constantly evolving American story. The decision to focus on the transnational identities of second-generation African immigrants flows from the following curiosities:

A. It is a significant contribution to a gaping hole in our understanding of the sons and daughters of Continental Africans who have immigrated to the United States.
B. It provides a departure from traditional understanding of adaptation process.
C. It is a re-imagining of a theoretical framework that offers a path for an increased understanding of second-generation Black immigrants whose parents are Continental Africans.

A significant factor in my curiosity regarding the above matters is my status as a second-generation Black immigrant sired by continental African parents who has faced issues revolving around the intersectionality of race, ethnicity, and lifestyle.

My awareness of the above matters began as a child. Although I did not have the mental tools to understand my situation as the child of first-generation immigrants of Nigerian descent, I soon developed an increased understanding that the maintenance of some association with my roots was of supreme importance to my parents. Teachings regarding Nigerian tradition, history, and culture were taught with the intention of reminding me that I was different from not only my African-American peers, but also non-Nigerian Black immigrants.

The above lessons convinced me that I emanated from a more unique cultural tradition than my contemporaries. However, I soon learned that it was the presence of racial bigotry that was significant enough of an issue to serve as rally point that silenced many of the cultural differences and peculiarities that differentiated Blacks in America.

The presence of a wicked brew of prejudice, discrimination, racial bigotry, and institutionalized racism beckoned me to embrace my status as a Black man -- a decision that muted my Nigerian heritage. Racial bigotry became the tie that bound me to other Blacks as it facilitated a sense of vulnerability with other Blacks regardless of historical and cultural differences. Research has convinced me that the process of attempting to simultaneously fit in several unwelcoming worlds is a common experience for second-generation Black immigrants sired by African parents.

Background

African immigrants are the largest Black immigrant group in the United States. Although the cultural imprint on first-generation continental Africans is obvious, their most interesting contribution is children who view and experience racial and ethnic identities through a vastly different lens that informs their malleability in regard to adopting various aspects of Black culture. Although not a perfect terminology fit, the alluded-to cohort that I am examining are considered second-generation Black immigrants sired by a union that includes at least one continental African parent that migrated to the U.S. For second-generation Africans in the United States, adaptation to what can be comfortably termed “mainstream” Black society is a dynamic process that simultaneously shapes both their experiences in the only homeland that they have ever known, as well as their ancestral homeland.

Engagement with traditional literature regarding the experiences and adaptation processes of second-generation Black immigrants reveals two prominent theories: (a) straight-line theory and (b) segmented assimilation theory. Straight-line theory, proposed

by Gans (1992), asserts that succeeding generations will likely become acculturated to mainstream American society. According to Gans, immigrant groups will either become acculturated to the values and priorities of dominant society or resist that worldview and experience a downward spiral into poverty. On the other hand, segmented assimilation theory, formulated by Portes and associates (Portes and Zhou 1993; Portes and Rumbaut 2001) as a critique of straight-line theory, suggests different integration outcomes are possible for second-generation immigrants. Segmented theory suggests three possible outcomes for second-generation immigrants:

A. Upward/Straight-line integration into white, mainstream American society.
B. Downward integration
C. Upward mobility with selective acculturation.

Both straight-line theory and segmented assimilation theory assert that success for immigrant populations depends on their success or failure to incorporate white traditions and customs into their worldview. Of course, such assertions are rife with a racial bias that places a disproportionate emphasis in the superiority and stability of white society. Many are comfortable in advancing theories of white superiority that ignore the fact that their privileged status rests on the continual oppression of non-white populations (Feagin 2013).

Adaptation theory literature has recently shifted from segmented theory and adopted a transnational perspective, "the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" (Glick-Schiller, Basch, and Blanc Szanton 1995, 48). According to transnational theory, first-generation immigrants go to extreme measures to maintain strong cultural, social,

economic and political ties with family members and their native lands (Chacko 2018). The aforementioned commitment to transnationalism has produced speculation regarding the next generation of immigrants -- most notably second-generation Black immigrant descendants of continental Africans. Discussions center on the question of whether they would continue the same transnational traditions that meant so much to their mothers and fathers.

A recent study by Clementine Berthelemy (2019) investigated second-generation Black immigrant descendants of African parents regarding their decoding of arbitrary White constructs of their identity. Berthelemy's findings are consistent with other studies that assert that despite their ethnic differences, second-generation Black immigrants sired by continental parents are aware of the mental constructs of their White American countrymen. Another study by Dialika Sall (2018) explores boundary processes between second-generation Black immigrants with roots in West African countries and African-American high school students located in the Bronx, New York. Using in-depth semi-structured interviews and ethnographic observations, Sall's findings revealed that the two populations conceptualized themselves as the same racial category group but still articulated ethnic differences.

Immigration scholar Onoso Imoagene's (2018) research focused on second-generation Black immigrants hailing from Nigeria. Imoagene used an investigation centered on beliefs regarding the utility of Affirmative Action (AA) policies and expected access to the government program to gauge subjects' level of pan-ethnic notions and underlying notions of an inextricable link with the fortunes of African-

Americans. The researcher concluded that second-generation Black immigrants hailing from Nigeria and African-Americans had similar experiences with elements of white bigotry such as discrimination. Imoagene's research led to conclusions that second-generation Black immigrants from Nigeria neither contest their racial identity nor seek to opt out of racial constructs of blackness. However, Imoagene's research subjects' experience with discrimination simultaneously shapes their sense of what it means to be Black and Nigerian -- a process that reminds one of noted Black scholar W.E.B. DuBois' desperate attempt to be both Black and an American.

Kassahun Kebede's (2017) study examined transnational identity among second-generation Black immigrants of Ethiopian descent. Kebede's twenty-one subjects had risen to the level of professionals in their new homeland. Kebede drew on the experiences of 21 subjects through the use of interviews and participation observation methodology to garner increased understanding of how they managed to maintain Ethiopian identities while embracing American values. Findings suggest that second-generation Ethiopian-American professionals were encouraged to simultaneously embrace Ethiopian culture and pursue success in American society. The study revealed an understandable fear of becoming "too American" as well as the development of the ability to assume a host of ethnic peculiarities that aided them in their navigation of private and professional settings.

The lives of second-generation African immigrants are shaped by multifaceted dynamic relationships forged by their ancestral homeland and current geographical realities. While there is a plethora of literature on first-generation Black immigrants of

African descent, both diasporic and continental, and the processes that they have undertaken to maintain transnational ties, the absence of similar studies focused on second-generation Black immigrants of African descent and their desperate attempt to maintain transnationalism is limited. This research serves as a scholarly contribution that will significantly close that gap.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides an overview of relevant literature that guides my investigation of "How do second-generation Black immigrant descendants of continental African immigrants to the U.S. navigate racial group identification and ethnic identity?" The literature review is structured in the following way: (a) review of writings focused on adaptation of immigrant groups to the United States of America, (b) an examination of relevant conceptual frameworks, and (c) the illumination of writings focused on second-generation immigrants in general, with special attention being paid to diasporic and continental Africans.

Assimilation theories dominate sociological studies regarding matters of immigrant adaptation. Scholars have repeatedly written that there is a logical process surrounding immigrants' arrival, an adaptation to dominant culture, and a subsequent opportunity to access the best parts of American life (Zhou 1997). Most scholars believe that as immigrants assimilate that prior cultural practices and values will fade away. While classical models of adaptation share significant aspects of this ideology, contemporary theorists have convinced themselves that such models apply to all children of immigrants.

Theories of Immigrant Adaptation

Two theoretical perspectives, *straight-line assimilation* and *segmented assimilation,* fuel the continuous debate about second-generation immigrants' adaptation

processes. The theory of straight-line assimilation was created by Warner and Srole (1945), refined by Gordon (1964), and popularized by Gans (1973). The straight-line theory posits that there is a "straight-line" path that allows second-generation immigrants to advance toward first-class citizenship. In other words, this happens after "adapting to and embracing the ideas and practices of the dominant Anglo-Protestant whites" (Elias and Feagin 2016). During this dynamic process, immigrants will "lose all their distinctive characteristics and cease to exist as ethnic groups" (Zhou 1997: page) as they assume an American identity that serves as a pre-requisite to their entrance into U.S. institutions as if they were always a part of the dominant group. While this model intends to explain the experiences of white-skinned Europeans integrating into American society, it has been extrapolated to infer that second-generation immigrants of all Races and identities can follow the same path to upward social mobility.

Crucial to understanding the straight-line model is its consideration of what generation means. Generation is used to examine the adaptation processes of different ethnic groups in American society (Butterfield 2015). Each generation goes through an adjustment period in the host society. This crucial moment is "a further step away from ethnic 'ground zero,' the community and culture established by the immigrants, and a step closer to more complete assimilation" (Lieberson 1973 cited in Alba and Nee 1997:832). Believers in this model assert that immigrants will achieve a status (identity) that facilitates their upward social and economic mobility. Scholars have noted different rates of adaptation across generations for different ethnic groups in the United States. For example, East European Jews achieved upward social mobility by the second-

generation versus Italian-American immigrants who took longer to achieve parity with their Anglo-Saxon American counterparts (Alba 1985; Lieberson 1980). These findings imply two things: (a) Success of immigrants within American society is directly tied to their ability to assimilate via the adoption of White Anglo-Saxon Protestant behaviors, norms, and values, and --- (b) second-generation immigrants are the best litmus test of success.

Nevertheless, the stated differences prove that there is no typical immigrant experience when it comes to assimilation. In fact, each generation within the same ethnic identity should expect to experience substantive differences in the integration process due to varying degrees of commitment to unique customs and varying degrees of separation from historical memory. The straight-line model expects "each succeeding generation to show upward social mobility in education and occupation, be more integrated in American mainstream, and show less ethnic distinctiveness in language use, residential concentration, and intermarriage patterns" (Waters, Tran, Kasinitz, and Mollenkopf 2010). Most believe successful integration of dominant culture values translated to upward mobility while failing integration prevented mobility. An emerging scholarship covering second-generation immigrants, particularly those of African descent, suggest otherwise.

Contemporary theorists questioning the universality of the *straight-line* theory corresponds with mid-sixties changes in U.S. immigration policy that created a wave of African immigrants from the Western Hemisphere, Asia, and the continent of Africa. Literature that was once the equivalent of "one size fits all" as it was only required to

address the experiences of European immigrants has come under severe scrutiny. Theories pre-dating the above changes in U.S. immigration policies have been reevaluated. They largely fail to consider variables such as national origin, class, level of education, and the historical context surrounding immigrant groups' arrival to an increasingly diverse America. In present times, "immigrants do not enter a society that assumes an undifferentiated monolithic American culture, but rather a consciously pluralistic society in which a variety of subcultures and racial and ethnic identities coexist" (Waters 1994: 799 cited in Butterfield 2015). Adaptation theory literature has been forced to shift from its unidirectional approach and has given way to a more sophisticated understanding of immigration matters that cover the experiences of second-generation non-White immigrants.

Segmented assimilation theory was developed out of the critiques of *straight-line assimilation*. The above philosophical challenge emphasizes inherent biases within a stratified American society that guarantees there will be differing levels of assimilation for the representatives of second-generation immigrants. Developed by Portes and Zhou (1993), theorists suggest adaptation for second-generation immigrants follows three distinct paths: (1) acculturation and integration into the white middle class leads to material success, (2) acculturation and integration into the urban *underclass* leads to a road of poverty and downward mobility, and (3) "selective acculturation" occurs "when preservation of ethnic values/traditions and close ethnic ties through communal relationships" takes place (Portes and Zhou 1993).

Predictably, segmented assimilation was expanded further to include variables

such as, human capital, modes of incorporation (consonant, dissonant, and selective) into the host society, and family structures that shaped the experiences of the first generation (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Disparate outcomes often led to what can be best termed generational conflict between first and second-generation members. According to Portes and Rumbaut (2001), the alluded-to relationship is a crucial factor in the success or failure of second-generation immigrants. Research indicates when immigrant parents and their offspring integrate into White middle-class society at a similar pace, upward social mobility occurs through a process scholars term consonant acculturation. According to Balogun (2011), second-generation immigrants "gradually abandon their home language and culture, identify as American, with little reference to ethnic or racial distinctions" (p.438).

Scholars term the above cultural shift "dissonant acculturation," a description of second-generation immigrants incorporating American culture at an accelerated rate that far outpaces their parents. When this occurs, the "parental authority is undermined, and children can prematurely free themselves from parental control" (Piedra and Engstrom 2009:273). Scholars have argued that dissonant acculturation can lead to "downward mobility" for second-generation immigrants, as it tends to lead participants toward the American underclass. second-generation Black immigrants are particularly susceptible to this process. They will undoubtedly experience racial discrimination, menial employment, and find themselves surrounded by a dysfunctional urban culture, without much-needed parental guidance or communal support (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Waters, Tran, Kasinitz, and Mollenkopf 2010; Kebede 2018).

The third process, selection acculturation, leads to upward mobility. This results from immigrant parents and their offspring simultaneously adapting to White American traditions and emphasizing their ethnic origins. This acculturation is characterized by "preservation of parental authority, little or no intergenerational conflict, fluent bilingualism among children" (Portes and Rumbaut 2001:52). The second-generation immigrants who fit into this construct tend to identify strongly with their parent's ethnic traditions and manage to combine many of them with American traditions and customs to create a composite identity (for example, Nigerian Americans) (Zhou and Bankston 1998; Kebede 2018).

Segmented assimilation has inspired volumes of scholarship detailing how second-generation immigrants execute this dynamic process (Gans 1992; Portes and Zhou 1993; Waters 1994, 1999; Neckerman KM, Carter P and Lee J 1999; Waldinger and Feliciano 2004; Piedra and Engstrom 2009; Stepick and Stepick 2010; Waters, Tran, Kasinitz and Mollenkopf 2010; Balogun 2011). Mary Waters provides one of the most comprehensive reviews of this process and how it pertains to second-generation Black immigrants (Mary Waters 1994, 1999). Waters' research focuses on the racial and ethnic identities of New York City's West Indian youth and how they address matters such as:

A. What does it mean to be an American?
B. What does it mean to be Black in America?
C. How do New York City's West Indian youth consider the immigrant predecessors?

Waters (1994) posits that second-generation Black immigrant identities should be categorized as, (a) Black American identity, (b) Ethnic or hyphenated national origin

identity, (c) Immigrant Identity. The three identities prove "different perceptions and understandings of race relations and of opportunities in the United States" (p. 795). second-generation youth who identified as Black Americans experienced significant levels of racial discrimination and fewer opportunities than those who identified as West Indians. Waters (1994) findings suggest that "assimilation to America for the second-generation black immigrant is complicated by race and class and their interaction, with upwardly mobile second-generation youths maintaining ethnic ties to their parents' national origins and with poor inner youths assimilating to Black American peer culture that surrounds them" (p. 795).

Limitation of Theories of Immigrant Adaptation

Despite how influential the segmented assimilation theory has been on scholarship addressing second-generation Black immigrants' adaptation to U.S. society, this theoretical perspective has several limitations. The assimilation model rests on an unreflective, dominant *white racial frame* that reinforces ideas, institutions, and social structures that benefit white racial groups (Feagin 2013). The inherent Eurocentrism protects whiteness while repelling critics and opponents. One cannot reasonably view the assimilation model without revealing that it normalizes whiteness and propagandizes the social construct as the epitome of Western Civilization. The message if you want to get ahead in America, you must learn to act White is deafening commentary to non-Whites. The historical qualifications for full inclusion into the dominant group have been three-fold: (a) White phenotype (skin), (b) Anglo-Saxon ancestry, (c) Protestant belief system. Obviously, Black immigrants will never be able to check more than a single box.

When one considers that inclusion into largely undefined and unpredictable socially constructed definitions of "whiteness" that pave a smooth path filled with political connections and economic opportunities is the most-assured path to politico-economic power in America. Blacks, regardless of how long they have been American citizens, must tread the stony path described by J. Rosamond Johnson and James Weldon Johnson in the unofficial Negro National Anthem Lift Every Voice and Sing. Put simply, the terms for individual and group covered by the wide umbrella of "whiteness" is not fairly applied. It is not difficult to recognize that the segmented assimilation theory manages to challenge classical assimilation models while re-establishing the power of elite Whites to continue without even the slightest challenge. It is ironic that widely accepted theories about paths to power have never been seriously challenged by non-elites regardless of race/ethnicity. It appears even scholars have abandoned hope that they could ever advance theories that would be seriously considered. They would need the endorsement of the elite Whites who have wedded themselves to inflexible paradigms that are not inclusive of all groups, especially non-White immigrants.

For part of this time period of theory, the early theorists were all elite White men. These elite White men were part of a complex system known as the elite-white-male dominance system. This system is "a *triple societal helix* linking together three major systems of social oppression: systemic white racism, system racism (heterosexism), and systemic classism (capitalism)" (Feagin and Ducey 2017, p. 7). Specifically, these systems are "intimately *intertwined* and *interlocking* at several levels, like a triple social helix and they have *codetermined* and *coproduced* each other at these levels for

centuries" (Feagin and Ducey 2017, p. 6). For centuries, this complex system has helped elite White men control and dominate mainstream America, which has perpetuated the dominant framing of assimilation. However, in recent decades, this elite-white-male dominance system has gradually included a few women and people of color. Scholars such as Mary C. Waters and Alejandro Portes have verbalized their elucidations of the assimilation processes. These explanations either extend or redefine earlier works.

In many ways, elite Whites' ability to define and ensure the prevailing of non-representative paradigms is merely foreshadowing of their domination of every segment of American society. It is not a stretch to term them gatekeepers to every parcel of politico-economic power needed for individual and group improvement. There is no move that non-White immigrants can make that does not traverse across terrain owned by elite White males. Indicative of elite White males' pervasive power quotients is the fact that political leanings have historically had on the contents of their immigration theories.

The above discussion of elite White males, equally inherent and unconquerable racial biases, is reflected in the segmented assimilation models assertion that seemingly assures that second-generation "…poor minority immigrants will automatically downwardly assimilate into an urban underclass alongside US-based minorities" (Balogun 2011:438). Reflective of a blind spot, flowing from their privileged status, elite White males and a few other constructors of immigration models, are unaware that second-generation Black immigrants are far from a monolithic population that can be comfortably grouped together. Most recently, studies have effectively countered

segmented assimilation models by sharing that they have found little evidence of second-generation Black immigrants of continental African parents declining in socioeconomics (Adjepong 2018; Imoagene 2017; Onuzulike 2016). Such critiques cast enough negative light on the segmented assimilation model to consider it highly flawed if not totally fallacious when it comes to second-generation Black immigrants whose parents hail from continental Africa.

Lastly, the segmented assimilation model "suffers from methodological nationalism" (Kebede 2017:254) by suggesting that second-generation immigrants fit into the three trajectories of assimilation asserted by Portes and Zhou (1993). This model does not account for how 2nd generation Black immigrants can identify themselves in ways that fall within the three paths asserted by Portes and Zhou. For example, Bailey's (2007) study on shifting negotiations of language, identity, and acculturation among 2nd generation immigrants of Dominican descent, suggests the identities found among this population are far from monolithic as historical trajectories assert. Bailey (2007) reports that it is common for a 2nd generation Dominican to identify himself/herself (1) as "American" and "very white" (traditional assimilation), (2) as "black" (assimilation to a marginalized group), and (3) as "Spanish," "Hispanic," or "100% Dominican" (acculturation to the immigrant community) (p. 160). Such evidence refutes long-held assumptions provided by the segmented assimilation theory.

As an example, second-generation Dominicans have chosen to liberate themselves from the restrictive confines of white-framed theories and identify with more than one racial, ethnic, or national identity.

Segmented assimilation theory cannot offer an understanding of how second-generation Black Immigrants hailing from continental Africa are able to create transnational identities that intersect with blackness while allowing the adaptation of unique ethnic/national identities. The inadequacies of the segmented assimilation theory mandate that this study uses a transnationalism and situational-adaptation perspective. The transnational perspective is discussed bellowed in the conceptual framework.

Conceptual Framework

Transnationalism

The current study utilizes a transnational framework to examine second-generation Black immigrants hailing from continental Africa. The *transnational* perspective has proven crucial to understanding second-generation Black immigrants and their families seeking to maintain multiple ties to their homeland via social engagement that connects both their ancestral land and their place of birth. I have joined the swelling ranks of academicians who view the transnational framework as an appropriate means of executing my current research.

This study has been aided by the appearance of a series of scholarly works focused on the applicability of transnationalism to the many issues facing second-generation Black immigrants. The alluded-to transnational perspective has been utilized across disciplines as diverse as anthropology, history, political science, and sociology (Levitt and Waters 2002a; Morawska 2003). Anthropological works published by Linda Basch, Nina Glick-Schiller, and Cristina Szanton-Blanc define transnationalism as:

> the process by which transmigrants, through their daily activities, forge and

> sustain multi-stranded social, economic, and political relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement, and through which they create transnational social fields that cross national borders (Basch, Glick-Schiller, and Szanton-Blanc 1994:6).

It is clear that transnationalism has refused to be confined to a single area of the social sciences. Transnationalism possesses the ability to access previously closed-off promising avenues regarding early immigrants and their descendants.

A review of the earliest writings focused on immigrants reveals conclusions that have been debunked over time. Even a casual review of early theories reveals them as being less about the immigrant populations being reviewed, and more about the biased viewpoints of White elite males seeking to prescribe remedies for socioeconomic deprivation to the poor huddled masses arriving in this nation. There is little room to doubt that White Anglo-Saxon Protestant males had a vested interest in new immigrants stripping themselves of their ethnic identities in favor of a Horatio Alger --- lifting oneself up by their bootstraps --- ethos. Hence, it is unsurprising that early studies attempted to advise new immigrants that it was in their best interest to sever ties with their ancestral homelands in favor of a White worldview.

From the beginning, the message that conformity was the sole path to socioeconomic advancement for new immigrants is unmistakable. Since these early studies infected with White elite males' unmistakable xenophobia and unbridled racial bias of the maintainers of institutionalized racism, recent scholars have struck back against such studies by noting that "transmigrants…maintain, build, and reinforce multiple linkages with their countries of origins" (Glick-Schiller, Nina, Linda Basch, and

Cristina Szanton-Blanc 1995:52). Unbeknownst to early articulators of societal expectations of conformity, integration or assimilation with the host society has never been a reliable path to group advancement for first or second-generation immigrants. Transnationalism is a much more reasonable option as it is a process in which immigrants are "simultaneously embedded in the multiple sites and layers of the transnational social fields in which they live" (Levitt and Jaworsky 2007:130).

Transnationalism possesses enough room for new immigrant populations to mesh themselves into the cultural, economic, familial, political, religious, and social processes of their ancestral homeland and host nation (Glick-Schiller et al. 1992; 1995; Itzigsohn, Cabral, Medina, and Vazquez 1999; Landolt, Auder and Baires, 1999; Levitt 2001; Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt 1999; Vertovec 2009). Although transnationalism is not an entirely new construct, riveting contemporary discourse on the topic has escaped what could be best termed traditional discussions regarding race/ethnicity, geography, and identity.

So, what does the existing literature base say about transnationalism? Several scholars have noted that there are prominent themes found within discussions of this matter during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, periods that pre-date changes in mid-sixties U.S. immigration policies. Earlier works tended to advance limited arguments via the retelling of immigrant stories that may or may not have been appropriate representations of the groups they belonged to. Foner's (2000) study "narrowed the field of analysis to one context" (p. 354) by comparing similarities and differences of transnationalism among New York City immigrants. Foner's research

investigates transnationalism and whether it is purely a first-generation phenomenon or one that continues with the arrival of second-generation immigrants.

Morawska's (2004) contribution to this matter is found in the examination of differing patterns of assimilation and transnational engagements among Polish and Jewish Russian immigrants in Philadelphia. The above study was conducted via a two-fold process: 1) The study collected information about these two groups that have been long neglected in the literature, and 2) the study utilized by Foner discusses a broader comparative examination of assimilation and transnational engagements between five groups: Asian Indians, first-wave Cubans in Miami, Jamaicans, undocumented Chinese, and Dominicans in New York. Findings from this study report several assimilation/transnational patterns among these immigrant groups.

A cursory examination of existing literature provides a picture of rapidly transforming understanding of the transnational framework. For example, Vertovec (2009) provides an insight regarding the advances in the technology, and states that "cheap telephone calls, faxes, email and Internet sites, satellite TV, and frequent modes of travel have allowed for continuous and real-time communication within global migrant networks" (p.15). Vertovec (2009) also examines how rapidly changing immigrant transnationalism is impacted by cultural, economic, political, and technological globalization. According to the referenced study, this dynamic process is convoluted by the availability of communication between an ancestral homeland and a host country. Within this context of normative transnationalism, immigrants are active participants in two evolving worlds. Migrant associations have grown in number and

extent of activity. Convoluting this process are governmental programs that allow unheard of special banking and investment schemes designed to attract foreign capital, ensure the welfare of migrant populations, and allow of dual citizenship in homelands and host countries (Vertovec 2009:14-15). Although difficult to comprehend, second-generation immigrants have been largely ignored in frenetic discussions regarding transnationalism. Furthermore, there have been several legitimate criticisms hurled at previously agreed upon elements of transnationalism.

Critiques to Transnationalism

Despite its increasing notoriety within the area of immigration studies, transnationalism has faced several serious critiques. Critics of transnational constructs have argued that the concept is mostly devoid of an agreed upon definition. A cursory glance of the writings covering the construct reveals the articulation of multiple, often contradictory, meanings. Transnationalism has become conflated, worn-out, and ineffectual. Terms like 'transnational social field' (Basch, Glick-Schiller, and Szanton-Blanc 1994), 'diaspora' (Vertovec 1997), and 'transnational social spaces' (Faist 2000) are prominent examples of how a term can lose its power due to the lack of clarity. Scholarly offerings by Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004) muddied the field by offering terms that further confused the process of transnationalism. The appearance of terms such as 'bi-localism' and 'trans-state' seemed a rejection of transnationalism. However, they accomplished little beyond the further splitting of hairs by charging that the rejected construct fails to account for trans-state practices and citizenship.

According to critics, transnationalism has become an all-encompassing concept

such as racism that is used to describe everything immigrants were doing or experiencing. In effect, it was a means of avoiding the need to engage in serious study regarding the experiences of first and second-generation immigrants. Many scholars have argued that immigrants have maintained transnational ties to their countries of origins as well as participated in transnational practices, therefore, hinting that this idea was not new (Foner 2000; Kivisto 2001; Waldinger and Fitzgerald 2004; Dahinden 2005). Foner argues that contemporary immigrants' pattern of establishing and sustaining multi-layered relations (familial, economic, political, and religious) between their countries of origin and the host society is a continuation of pre-existing patterns. Despite what some scholars have previously asserted, contemporary immigrants have sent remittances, invested in land and properties, and visited their families back in their ancestral homelands (Foner 1997).

Many scholars have taken the creators and supporters of transnationalism to task due to methodological flaws that they claim compromise everything that flows out of its framework. According to critics of transnationalism, its qualitative approach had a "strong tendency to 'sample on the dependent variable' (transnationalism), focusing on instances where the phenomenon of interest is present, but not on those where it is absent" (Portes 2001:182). These studies were able to investigate and find immigrants who were involved in transnational activities but did not account for the cases where transnational patterns did not occur. Critics charge that circumstances that gave rise to different forms of transnationalism were never thoroughly investigated (Vertovec 2009).

There appears to be a real fear that investigations from a non-standard

transnational lens would prove problematic to its supporters. Consider for a moment that Portes, Haller, and Guarnizo's (2002) comparative study employed a quantitative approach examining the entrepreneurial activities of Colombian, Dominican, and Salvadoran immigrants in the United States. Their study concluded that all three immigrant groups participated in transnational activities in their corresponding communities. However, the transnational entrepreneurs represented only a small fraction of their larger communities. Nevertheless, the transnational activities documented in this study produced prominent findings among three immigrant groups.

Those applying transnationalism to illuminate non-White immigrant groups' experiences is their failure to account for the appearance of race within a normalized whiteness. It never fails to problematize everything for immigrant groups. In many ways, it is remarkable that there are academicians whose understanding of this nation ignores the voluminous and impactful issues that are a natural outgrowth of never-ending contentious battles between White elites and other groups seeking to grasp a share of politico-economic power.

The American historical record is full of political repression that are outgrowths of White elites' determination to maintain their privileged status that rests on the maintenance of politico-economic monopolies. There is no doubt that within a nation whose majority population operates from a belief that this is an inheritance that was bequeathed to them by their ancestors. There is little reasonable hope that they will not demand non-White immigrants to adapt and conform to pre-existing cultural values and priorities. Non-White immigrants' failure to adapt to their host country dooms them in

far-reaching ways including, but not limited to political, economic, and physical violence. Immigrant theories that fail to consider this volatile historical context cannot be used as a valid measure of such populations.

For decades, transnational literature has been more than a continuation of antiquated debates regarding assimilation and if it continued beyond the first generation of immigrants. Several scholars have suggested that transnationalism is not adopted by the second-generation (Waldinger & Fitzgerald 2004). Predictably, there is an absence of consensus regarding the appearance of transnationalism in the lives of second-generation immigrants of color. It appears that scholars who denied the continuation of transnationalism past the first generation failed to comprehend that its reappearance would not be identical for second-generation immigrants (Levitt and Waters 2002a). Levitt (2009) asserts that second-generation immigrants possess the spirit of transnationalism, however, their embrace of the concept varies significantly from that of their parents. Levitt (2009:1226) states the following:

> When children grow up in households and participate in organizations in which people, goods, money, and ideas and practices from their parents' countries of origin circulate in and out on a regular basis, they are not only socialized into the rules and institutions of the countries where they live, but also into those of the countries from whence their families come. They acquire social contacts and skills that are useful in both settings. They master several cultural repertories that they can selectively deploy in response to the opportunities and challenges they face.

No cultural rules mandate that second-generation immigrants embrace transnationalism in the same ways as their parents, recent scholarship has illuminated how the second-generation engages in transnational activities (Haikkola 2011; Mohme 2014; Trieu, Vargas, and Gonzales 2015; Tiilikainen 2017; Kebede 2019). For instance,

Lotta Haikkola (2011) focused on how second-generation Helsinki children create transnational social relationships and the implications of those networks. Haikkola concluded that "children have to transform existing family ties into meaningful social relationships through visitations to the places of origin and third countries" (p.1213). Marja Tiilikainen (2017) focused on the transnational experiences of second-generation Canadian Somalis, regarding their continuing ties to Somalia. Tiilikainen's study offered the following conclusions: (a) Study subjects lived within a transnational social field, (b) they continued the tradition of sending remittances, phone calls, and visits to the ancestral lands, (c) they expressed no significant identification with kin beyond these informal transnational practices. Kassahun Kebede's (2019) study investigated the transnational experiences of second-generation Ethiopian Americans and found that they engage in tangible transnational activities, such as visits to Ethiopia, sending remittances, bringing awareness of Ethiopia to the United States, participating in philanthropic activities through non-profitable organizations, and transnational politics (p. 243).

These studies suggest that transnationalism fulfills a different purpose for second generationers (Kelly 2015). This process requires the experience of transnationalism at a level of "emotions, ideologies, and cultural codes…that situates them between different generational and locational points of reference, both the real and the imagined—their parents', sometimes also their grandparents' and other relatives', and their own" (Wolf 2002: 258). Scholars Espiritu and Tran (2002) posit that transnationalism is not just about visiting the country of origin, making phone calls, or sending remittances, it

includes an "imagined returns to the homeland (through selective memory, cultural rediscovery, and sentimental belongings)" (p. 369). For second generationers, the ancestral homeland is an essential part of the socialization process that births a transnational identity (Kebede 2019). It involves "a process of 'ethnification' in which identity is developed relationally in the context of a 'host' society' in which they are a minority…but is also an emotional experience" (Kelly 2015:284). The ancestral homeland for 2nd generationers is not just an opportunity to visit, but it is "a concept and a desire – a place to return to through the imagination" (Espiritu and Tran 2002:369).

Despite the criticism of transnationalism, the construct does have its benefits. Transnationalism "gives attention to the intersecting realities at play in the lives of immigrant families, particularly the ways that continuing interactions between migrants and their homelands affect the second generation" (Kebede 2018:6). The perspective also "takes into account the ways the second-generation have increasingly found themselves part of social fields that tie them to complex relations between one place and another" (Kebede 2018:6). Most importantly, transnationalism provides an opportunity for second generationers to "define and redefine their ways of being transnational and how they choose to build on, modify, or create their transnational activities" (Kebede 2019:245). The transnational approach used in this study aids in understanding of the lives of second-generation Black immigrants connected to continental Africa, by rejecting traditional theories and assimilation models that fail to differentiate immigrant groups in an inexplicable attempt to advance a "one size fits all" theory.

Second Generation

Crucial to understanding this study is information regarding second-generationers. The immigrant "stock" population in the United States is composed of the first and second generation. The differences in size and composition, specifically a person's origin of birth and age of arrival, distinguishes generations. Furthermore, the differences between each generation can "affect significantly the modes of acculturation of adults and children in immigrant families, especially with regard to language and identity, and thus may also affect their propensity to sustain transnational attachments over time" (Rumbaut 2002:47-48).

There has never been a uniform definition of generations found in existing literature. Typically, there has been a "lumping togetherness of newly arrived immigrants, first-generation, second-generation, and even third-generation children in a single category" (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco 2001). This action does not "accurately capture the experiences of youths who fall in the interstices between these groupings…nor the different developmental contexts at the time immigration among those born abroad" (Rumbaut 2002). For this study, I will rely on the U.S. Census Bureau's definition of a generation. The alluded-to definition states that the second generation are citizens born and raised in the America with at least one foreign born parent.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau's 2013 Current Population Survey (CPS), the second-generation comprised 12 percent of the total population in 2013, or about 36 million (p. 3). Of the 36 million, the Pew Research Center (2013) has reported that 20

million are adult children while the remaining 16 million are children aged 17 and younger. My focus will be second-generation Black immigrants aged 18 and over with at least one parent born on the continent of Africa.

Second Generation African Immigrants

Emerging literature highlights that the largest and fastest-growing black immigrant group in the United States is second generationers, with at least one parent born on the continent of Africa. An in-depth review of emerging literature proves that second-generation African immigrants are different from their parents. The alluded-to differences include, but are not limited to, economic stability, being raised in a middle-class household, and the securing of college degrees. The immigrant population under examination are earning college degrees at a rate that exceeds other immigrant groups and U.S. born ethnic groups (Valentine 2012; Kebede 2018).

Although the above trappings of success are relatively standard in this nation, the adherence to such American standards of success should not be ignored, as they are particularly meaningful. They definitively prove for those who do not take them as a given, that there is a white framework that houses the success or failure of Black immigrants. One matter that non-White immigrants inherit the moment they arrive in this nation is a long history of socially constructed racial paradigms. There is little doubt that the most succinct articulation of America's prolonged racial problems is found in the writings of W.E.B. DuBois. DuBois, a figure whose insight regarding racial matters is rivaled only by the remarkable James Baldwin, asserts in his magnum opus *The Souls of Black Folk* that "the problem of the twentieth-century is the problem of the color

line." Unfortunately for today's second-generation Black immigrants, DuBois' prophetic statement should have been extended into the new millennium as the color line remains a significant factor that serves as a daunting element in the lives of non-White Americans.

There is no room to debate that the second generationers under examination embrace the values and priorities that guided their parent's navigation of America's turbulent waters (Kebede 2018:12). African parents who arrived in the U.S. from continental Africa have neither failed to teach their children the importance of cultural heritage and traditions nor the value of embracing American values. Let us be clear, conformity is forced by overarching realities found in a nation where whiteness is normalized. The punishment for significant deviation of non-white citizens is exponentially worse than any reserved for the new white countrymen. When one considers the commonality of a prevailing narrative that paints America as the land of opportunity, continental Africans arrive with an indomitable spirit to succeed by any means necessary.

Although their dedication is immeasurable, it does not blind them to the harsh reality that success hinges on their ability to conform to the majority of white society's expectations. The success of the population studied is measured by their success in their host country but by the level of their cultural retention and ability to aid family and friends in their homeland tangibly. Ndemanu (2019) notes that "parents also tend to unintentionally reveal the African identity of their children by their foreign English accents and their traditional outfits during visits to their children schools" (p. 9). First generation immigrants from Africa bring their customs, norms, and traditions with them

to the United States. The homes that second generationers are raised within are facsimiles of the socialization structures that molded the previous generation. Second generationers will identify "strongly with their parents' national origins and maintaining ethnic identities, partially retaining their parents' language and norms and sustaining bicultural lives" (Balogun 2011:438).

To their credit, second-generation African immigrants have maintained transnational identities that challenge essentialist and monolithic views of race and ethnicity. Such a commitment is yet another reminder that Blacks are not a monolithic population devoid of diverse beliefs, value systems, and goal structures (Kebede 2017). Several studies have examined the ways second-generation African immigrants participate in transnational activities such as keeping in touch and providing personal support to the family, travel to the ancestral homeland to see family, and sending remittances (Haller and Landolt 2005).

For example, Chacko (2018) conducted research on ethno-national and racial identities adopted by second-generation African immigrants. Based on focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews with undergraduate students enrolled at various universities in the Washington Metropolitan Area, Chacko reported that respondents "used their ethno-racial heritage to build an image of themselves as powerful future change agents, who through their transnational activities could improve the global image of Africa in Western societies and help in developing their ancestral homelands." During their college years, second generationers "sought out classes on African history, economies, development, cultures and geographies that provided the

context that allowed them to embark on personal explorations of their ethnic and national identities, forays which were often transformative for them" (p. 8). More importantly, second generationers experienced transnational connections with Africa through Afrocentric music, fashion, and dance.

Kebede (2012) researched the Ethiopian immigrants' transnational experience in the Washington metropolitan area across generational units (three groups of Ethiopian migrants and their descendants). In exploring the factors that motivated immigrants to participate in transnational activities, Kebede interviewed twenty-one second-generation Ethiopian Americans and reported that they are "engaged in a variety of transnational activities that include defending the homeland here in the United States to dispel the potentially hurtful perceptions about Ethiopia in America, taking part in political action (especially the hard work of building a voting bloc), sponsoring children in the homeland, and working in Ethiopia" (p. 389).

Interestingly, most second-generation Ethiopian Americans did not send remittances to their parents' ancestral homeland. Instead, traveling to Ethiopia to visit family members and speaking up against disparaging comments about Ethiopia was viewed as participating in transnational activities (Kebede 2012:369). As a result, Kebede (2012) suggested that the actions of transnationalism and transnational activities among the second-generation are impressive as they are taking what "they have inherited from their parents…and engaging in a variety of transnational activities that are making a difference in the lives of people departing from the protest-based transnational politics of their parents" (p. 369).

Kwarteng (2016) research on second-generation Ghanaian Americans in the Greater Washington, D.C. area regarding remittances – based on family ties, cultural identity, and emotional or cultural connection to Ghana. In examining whether or not second-generation Ghanaian-Americans are more likely to send social remittance than money remittances, Kwarteng utilizes Levitt's (2004) definition of social remittance which refers to "the ideas, behaviors, identities, and the social capital the migrants export to their homes communities" (as cited by Kwarteng 2016:13). Kwarteng interviewed twenty-six second-generation Ghanaian Americans and reported several findings regarding remittance intentions: (1) sending social remittances was favored over sending monetary remittances due to the fear of being taken advantage of by Ghanaian natives back home (p.30), (2) the 2nd generation did not feel comfortable sending monetary remittances to family members they did not know well or had no emotional connections or ties (p. 31) and, (3) the 2nd generation chose to send social remittances over money remittances because it would help decrease the dependence of financial assistance (p. 31). Based on these findings, Kwarteng inferred that 2nd generation Ghanaian Americans would likely remit in the future.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I discuss the methodological approach used to examine how second-generation African immigrants subscribe to Black racial group identification and align their own identity. As required for all social science studies, I have chosen a methodological approach that best aligns with the current research topic and will discuss the rationale behind it. Next, I will discuss the study's research design, which will include the participants, data collection methods, and analysis. Lastly, I will conclude this chapter with a summation of its limitation. The current study seeks to answers the following research question: How do second-generation Africans subscribe to Black racial group identification and align their own identity?

Research Methodology

The current study employed a qualitative method approach. As defined by Creswell (2014), qualitative research is described as:

> An approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The process of research involves emerging questions and procedures, data typically collected in the participant's setting, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researcher making interpretations of the meaning of the data. The final written report has a flexible structure. Those who engage in this form of inquiry support a way of looking at research that honors an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning, and the importance of rendering the complexity of a situation" (p. 4).

It is with great hope that by bringing attention to one of the least studied, yet most significant and growing groups of the New African Diaspora, second-generation African

immigrants' experiences of identity negotiation within black racial category groups will become visible.

Throughout the twentieth century, the qualitative research paradigm has been used to examine the social phenomena in many disciplines including anthropology, psychology, sociology, and others. Furthermore, this paradigm “consists of a number of systematic data collection and interpretation strategies that are intended to investigate and comment on complex phenomena within their natural and authentic contexts” (Creswell 1998; Maxwell 1996; as cited by Tetnowski and Damico 2001:22). Although there are several approaches within this paradigm (narrative research, phenomenology, ground theory, ethnographies, and case studies), its overall purpose to “figure out “What’s going on” with the behavior or phenomenon under the investigatory lens” (Tetnowski and Damico 2001:22).

Employing a qualitative method approach for the current study is best for several reasons. First, qualitative research is best applicable when "a concept or phenomenon needs to be explored and understood because little research has been done it" (Creswell 2014:20). For instance, much of the existing literature on Black immigrants have primarily focused on immigrants from the Caribbean (Waters 1999). There is a limited amount of scholarship that examines the experiences and identities of second-generation African immigrants. In recent times, several scholars have made efforts to address the inadequacy of learning among this group (Awokoya 2009; Onuzulike 2014; Kebede 2017). Researchers who employ a qualitative approach, recognize that human behavior or a social phenomenon is not just methodical, rather it can be observed and described

thoroughly. By exploring and understanding what is going on with the respondents in my study, I am able to employ an agenda that differs from a quantitative approach. While quantitative research has been designed to test hypothesis, manipulate variables, and use statistical procedures, a qualitative approach helps me understand the "procedural affairs of targeted social phenomenon; the focus is on *how* things happen rather than the fact *that* they happen" (Tetnowski and Damico 2001:22).

Second, qualitative research "provides detailed description and analysis of the quality, or the substance, of the human experience" (Marvasti 2004:7). This is a critical element of the current study. Since the purpose of this study is to understand how the social phenomena of second-generation Black immigrants of Continental African descent subscribe to Black racial group identification while aligning their own identity, it was imperative to collect data that provides depth and detail. "Instead of collecting data via predetermined classification schemes or observational categories that are intended to create numerical summaries for statistical purposes" (Tetnowski and Damico 2001:23), I triangulated "different data sources of information by examining evidence from the sources and used it to build a coherent justification" (Creswell 2014:201). Specifically, I employed a mixed method, using surveys and qualitative interviews to collect data.

Using multiple methods in a study gives the researcher an advantage. As previously mentioned, triangulation occurs when a researcher uses multiple sources of information and data to develop an idea, or understanding, or conclusion. This principle corresponds with the term "consilience." Consilience was coined by William Whewell (1840), who argued that multiple methods are much better than the standard scientific

methods. When you have multiple sources that reinforce the same ideas or are in agreeance, these sources will come together and present a strong and well-support conclusion. The current study uses survey data and in-depth interviews as well as my personal experiences to understand the world that these respondents live in. Therefore, I am able to present a thorough account of the second-generation African immigrants' lived experiences by telling their stories through interpretation, which comes from the data.

Lastly, qualitative research allows me to utilize my personal experiences in the research process (Creswell 2014). As a second-generation African immigrant, born to immigrant parents who migrated to the United States, I am compelled to make sense of my own experiences as well as the respondents who participated in this study. Understanding how they subscribe to the Black racial category groups and align their own identity can help me understand my positionality, which can lead to explicit interpretations. The following sub-sections will discuss the procedures and design of the current study.

Participants

The respondents selected in the current study were recruited through purposive sampling, accompanied by snowball sampling. Purposive sampling involves "identifying and selecting individuals or groups of individuals that are especially knowledgeable about or experienced with a phenomenon of interest" (Palinkas, L. A., Horwitz, S. M., Green, C. A., Wisdom, J. P., Duan, N., & Hoagwood, K. 2015:2, as cited in Creswell &

Plano Clark 2011).” Snowballing sampling, on the other hand, "yields a study sample through referrals made among people who share or know of other who possess some characteristics that are of research interest" (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981:141). This is a repetitive process. I identified the "*purposefully selected* sites or individuals that best help me understand the problem and the research question” (Creswell 2014:189). I asked respondents to recruit other potential respondents from their networks. As a result, it created a snowball effect. This technique allowed me to locate persons of a specific population that would otherwise have been difficult to reach.

The current study explores the racial and ethnic experiences of fifteen (15) second-generation African immigrants. As previously mentioned, for the present study, *second-generation* African immigrants are born and raised in the United States to at least one foreign-born parent from Africa. A critical inquiry of qualitative studies has been the number of respondents a researcher should have in their research. While there is not a specific answer to this question, Creswell (2014) suggests that the sample size of a phenomenology study "typically ranges from three to ten" respondents (p. 189). The research for the study was conducted during the fall of 2019 and the spring of 2020. The respondents were selected in two stages.

First, some of the respondents in the study were purposively selected from my network or through previous contact made with respondents in various settings. Second, a snowball sampling technique was used to target second-generation African immigrants born and raised in the United States. These two stages also included the researcher sending out a recruitment email that comprised a description of the study, estimated time

of participation, potential risks and benefits, informed consent letter (see Appendix C), and an electronic link to the Qualtrics survey (see Appendix A). Respondents who wanted to be part of the study clicked on the Qualtrics survey link, which indicated that they had read the information provided and had decided to participate in the study.

Respondents who did not want to be part of the research or had changed their minds later could leave the research at any time. Once a respondent completed the survey, I asked to share the recruitment email with the Qualtrics survey link attached to other individuals in their networks who identified as a second-generation African immigrant. To obtain more respondents, I distributed a recruitment email through the bulk mail system at a large flagship university in Texas. I also sent the recruitment email to undergraduate student organizations, faculty members, and graduate student organizations at different flagship universities and colleges in the United States.

Data Collection

For the current study, all of the data gathered from respondents provided clear and explicit consent before participating and complied fully with the guidelines and regulations of the Institutional Review Board (IRB). Following the traditions of many qualitative studies, researchers can utilize a plethora of steps to collect data (Creswell 2014). The data collection process for qualitative research "includes setting boundaries for the study, collecting information through unstructured or semi-structured observations and interviews, documents, and visual materials, as well as establishing a protocol for recording information" (Creswell 2014:189). The data collection process

used to understand how second-generation African immigrants subscribe to the Black racial category group and align their own identity involves the following: questionnaire (survey) and interviews.

Questionnaire

The first part of the current study implemented a web-based survey comprised of a sixty-item inventory (See Appendix A) used to gather pertinent background information from all respondents of the study. The questionnaire was drafted on a Qualtrics survey application in the efforts to reach a broad and diverse network of respondents across the United States. I found both Cui's (2017) and Williams' (2011) interview questions to be useful. Therefore, I updated both their questions and added new questions based on pre-testing with initial respondents. In specific, I include questions about second-generation African immigrant's identification processes and their racialized experiences. The questionnaire also used basic demographics questions for second-generation African immigrant respondents. These included age, gender, education level, occupation, cultural and family background, language ability and proficiency, identification processes, and racialized experiences. The estimated time to complete the online questionnaire was about 60 minutes.

Upon completion of the questionnaire, respondents are asked the following: "May we contact you in the future about this study?" Based on the response of the previous question, the researcher anticipated that respondents would provide their contact information to be contacted for a follow-up interview. Initially, some thirty-one respondents participated in the web-based survey. However, after carefully examining

the respondents' answers, several respondents did not qualify due to being born outside of the United States, while others did not finish the survey. Respondents are comprised of both men and women, between the ages of 18 – 40. The final data set for analysis consisted of fifteen respondents.

Interviews

Interviews have become a standard approach for collecting data in qualitative research because of their ability to describe or interpret a respondent's experience. Seidman (2006) states, "at the heart of interviewing research is an interest in other individuals' stories because they are of worth" (p. 9). The stories of second-generation African immigrants are worth telling. It is not merely because they are part of the largest Black immigrant population in the United States. Instead, it is a testament to how their stories can pinpoint factors that have been addressed or disregarded in how they construct and negotiate their racial and ethnic identities. In examining how they subscribe to Black racial group identification and align their own identity, I conducted semi-structured interviews with respondents. This technique is most appropriate because it provides researchers the opportunity to explore the "perceptions and opinions of respondents regarding complex and sometimes sensitive issues and enable probing for more information and clarification" (Barriball & While 1994:328). In turn, it provides respondents the flexibility to elaborate pertinent information or convey their experiences to the researcher.

I used an interview protocol (see Appendix B) consisting of twenty-three questions used to probe second-generation African immigrant racial and ethnic identities

and experiences in the United States. The primary goal of the interviews was to allow respondents to expand their responses from the Qualtrics survey. Some questions include, "When were you first aware of your race/ethnicity? What form(s) of racism have you experienced? Have you ever experienced any feelings such as shame or guilt towards your race/ethnicity? Are you a member or affiliated with any associations/organizations from your parent(s)' homeland? Based on these questions, I sought to understand respondents' thought processes about their racial/ethnic identities and various situations or experiences they believe impacted their identities. Before conducting these interviews, I tested the interview guide with family and friends, focusing on sentence structure and understanding of the questions. After receiving feedback from several individuals, I modified the interview guide based on their recommendations.

Interviews in the current study were conducted using a video conferencing application (Zoom) that allowed respondents to video chat or call into the conference using a telephone. During the interviews, I recorded information through handwritten notes, which entailed the respondent's accounts as well as my interpretations of their statements. These interviews were digitally recorded by using an audio recording device. The estimated time of completion for an interview lasted for sixty minutes. Initially, I planned for most of the interviews to be conducted face-to-face and in an environment that was not only suitable for dialogue but also convenient for respondents. Most of the respondents who agreed to participate in the interview lived in local areas and surrounding cities within Texas. However, the pandemic (Covid-19) that transpired in

the United States and across the world during the Spring of 2020 presented some barriers to study.

Several respondents who agreed to participate in the interview could not be reached. Twelve respondents were sent a blind carbon copied (Bcc) email asking for more feedback about their experiences. Five out of twelve respondents responded to this email and set up a time through a doodle link. Several attempts were made to contact other respondents to sign up, but there was no answer. Second, it hindered the researcher from making observations that could be seen vividly in face-to-face interactions. Four of the five interviews conducted were telephone interviews. Although qualitative interviews can employ a variety of tactics, such as using the telephone, focus groups, or the internet, the nature of the talks can present a range of behaviors. Glesne (2006) suggests that "the nature of interaction will change, as will, depending on the topic discussed, the location of the interview, and temper time" (p. 91). The researcher believes that observing respondents face-to-face as opposed to conducting telephone interviews would have provided an opportunity to witness such behaviors like nonverbal and verbal cues, the respondent's body language to determine what effects the questions, probes, and comments (Glesne 2006:92). Furthermore, it would add to the quality of the respondent's experience. The final data set for analysis included five interviews.

Ethical Considerations

Special attention was given to follow all guidelines implemented by Texas A&M University's Division of Research, through the Office of Research Compliance and Biosafety. The researcher used several steps to ensure that any respondents who decided

to participate in the current study were protected. An informed consent document was used to ensure that respondents were protected at all times. Before the dissemination of the research and before the data collection process, I sought approval from the IRB office to conduct the study. Respondents who have been invited to participate in the study were asked to review an informed consent document (see Appendix C) expressing their desire to participate or not. The informed consent document detailed the study's specifications and notated that respondents have the right to withdraw from the study at any time.

Special attention was given to the process of reporting, sharing, and storing data. In specific, data that was collected was locked away on an encrypted password computer in an office on campus. The only persons who have access to the data are those persons who have been authorized by the IRB office. At the conclusion of this study, data and materials will be stored with Texas A&M University for four years. Furthermore, it was with great optimism that there was not much risk for the respondents who participated in the current study.

Data Analysis

An essential step in qualitative research involves the data analysis process. This step is important because the researcher does not only describe the necessary measures in analyzing the data but also about making sense of it. Glesne (2006) notes that "data analysis involves organizing what you have seen, heard, and read so that you can make sense of what you have learned" (p. 147). In addition to the statement above, Glesne (2006) suggests that "working with the data, you describe, create explanations, pose

hypotheses, develop theories, and link your story to other stories" (p. 147). I understand how it important is to narrate the accounts of the respondents in the current study. Therefore, this section addresses the necessary steps.

I utilized Creswell's (2014) six-step process for data analysis in qualitative research in the current study: 1) Organize and prepare the data, 2) Read and look at the data, 3) Coding the data, 4) Generate a description and theme, 5) Interrelating themes/description, and 6) Interpretation (p. 197-200). The data collection for this study would be an ongoing process. Therefore, I collected the raw data (questionnaires and interview transcripts) from the respondents who participated in the research and began to organize and prepare them for analysis. Shortly after collecting the data, I uploaded the audio recording from each interview to a web-based application called Otter.ai, which provides speech to text transcription. I created a password-protected account to utilize this resource. Also, I read over my notes to get a sense of what the data was stating while the interviews were being transcribed.

After the interviews were transcribed, I reviewed them for accuracy. To check for accuracy, I used the synchronized playback feature in the Otter.ai application to listen to the interviews and the editing feature to make corrections and improve the text. After making the necessary changes for each interview, I saved the transcripts on the web application and saved a pdf file as back up. These interviews were stored on a password-protected account I have created to ensure that the data was private and secured. These interviews were also stored on a password-protected computer to ensure privacy and security. I also gathered and reviewed the Qualtrics surveys

(questionnaires).

After reviewing all the data, the researcher began the coding process. Creswell (2014) notes, "coding is the process of organizing the data by bracketing chunks (or text or image segments) and writing a word representing a category in the margins" (as cited in Rossman & Rallis, 2012). Mainly, I employed this step by not using a set of predefined codes or themes in mind. This action allowed the researcher to use the statements gathered during the data collection and label them with a term or phrase that is established on the language of the respondent (Creswell 2014). These words and/or statements generate not only pertinent findings but also highlight possible connected themes by detailing several respondents. This process has been aided by using Otter.ai. Specifically, the web application will automate a collection of keywords that help users navigate the transcripts in a much simpler fashion. These keywords are terms that have been used frequently or repetitively in an interviewee's recording.

After coding the data, a researcher is to generate several themes. Creswell (2014) notes, "sophisticated qualitative studies go beyond description and theme identification and form complex theme connections" (p. 200). Therefore, I examined the data in the study by identifying similarities and differences between respondents. For example, a couple of respondents shared similar views of experiencing microaggressions during grade school and high school years. A pattern that emerged from this study was the notion of experiencing a racialized incident, but not recognizing it at the moment. This example compelled me to interpret the data by writing extensively about the experiences of second-generation African immigrants. The respondents' experiences and accounts are

not just meaningful to them, but they contribute to the overall study by shedding light on discoveries that have not been stated in previous research.

Reflexivity and Validity

Reflexivity refers to "inquirers explicitly identifying their biases, values, and personal backgrounds, such as gender, history, culture, and socioeconomic status (SES) that shape their interpretations formed during a study" (Creswell 2014:187). As previously mentioned, I identify as a second-generation African immigrant. I am aware of my ascribed status. I recognize and identify that I am black (racial identity), but I was born into a Nigerian family (ethnic identity). I'm attempting to understand how I negotiate my identity, racially, and ethnically. Although this is an ongoing process, I am aware that my experiences could have damaging consequences to the study's validity. Therefore, I had to separate my assumptions and experiences during the interviews from the experiences of the respondents in the study.

In qualitative research, validity is "based on determining whether the findings are accurate from the standpoint of the researcher, the participant, or the readers of an account" (Creswell and Miller 2000, as cited in Creswell 2014:201). To ensure the validity of the current study, the researcher employed two data collection methods (questionnaires and interviews) to build a rationale for the themes discussed. Next, the researcher used a "*rich, thick description* to convey the findings" in the current study (Creswell 2014:202). Using this strategy allowed the researcher to give detailed descriptions and interpretations of racialized experiences among second-generation African immigrants. Lastly, I presented "*negative* or *discrepant information* that runs

counter to the themes" in the study (Creswell 2014:202). Giving this information offers a different perspective that does not necessarily merge with the theme but adds validity to the study.

Limitations

Although this research contributes to the scholarship on how second-generation, United States born Africans experience racialization and the process of negotiating their Black racial identity, there are several limitations. One limitation of the methodology chosen for the current study lies in the online questionnaire used to obtain data from respondents. I believe online surveys are useful resources to reach and engage with potential respondents. Mainly, I was able to pre-screen respondents and only those who matched the required criteria to complete the study. Also, the margin of error was reduced because the questionnaire was online, and it allowed respondents to be in an environment suitable to their needs. Furthermore, it provided respondents the opportunity to state their answers unreservedly.

However, where the limitation of the questionnaire occurs is in the number of questions asked being asked. I believe the number of questions asked in the questionnaire deterred some respondents not to finish the survey as well as potential respondents. Initially, I anticipated a population of a hundred respondents who would meet the criteria for the current study. However, thirty respondents participated in the online questionnaire. Out of the thirty respondents, only fifteen respondents qualified for the study and completed the entire questionnaire. Of the remaining fifteen respondents, six respondents did not qualify for the study due to being born outside of the United

States, and nine respondents did not finish the questionnaire. Out of the nine respondents who did not complete the questionnaire, there were two duplicate responses from one respondent.

Another limitation of the methodology chosen for the current study lies in the sample size. Although the sample size is relatively small, this notion typically common in qualitative research. I do not necessarily find the sample size difficult. Instead, it's who participated in the study. There was an unequal representation of respondents in terms of sex. Out of the fifteen respondents qualified for the current study, there were thirteen female respondents and two male respondents. Based on the findings, the study captured the experiences related explicitly to second-generation African immigrant women. Thus, the conclusions of the current study might have produced and highlighted even more themes, given a larger male representation in the sample size.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Whereas the literature on second-generation African immigrants has grown in recent years, the literature does not appear to address certain issues. The current chapter examines how second-generation African immigrants subscribed to Black racial categorization while aligning their own racial or ethnic identity. The following themes emerged from the data:

1. Family Context
2. The Social Context
3. Pilgrimage to Africa
4. The Identification Process
5. Racialized Experiences

First, I examined the family context in which respondents were socialized in racial and ethnic households. Based on this examination, respondents reported how cultural teachings they learned from their parents, such as values, traditions, and customs, played a vital role in the socialization process of their racial and ethnic identities. Second, I focused on the social context of second-generation. In particular, this section examines the race relations between African-Americans and African immigrants and how these subtleties between both black groups lead to issues of social distancing.

Third, I focused on the transnational activities of second-generation African immigrants. This section examines how respondents are engaged in transnational activities such as traveling to their parent's ancestral homeland, staying connected with

them, and sending remittances. Fourth, I focused on the identification processes of second-generation African immigrants. Specifically, the section examines the respondent's understanding of their own identities as well as imposed identities from their Black counterparts that lead to feelings of shame or guilt. Last, I focused on the racialized experiences of second-generation African immigrants. The study found that respondents experience everyday forms of racism. Furthermore, these individuals experience discrimination and racism in school, workplace, and with law enforcement. Theme four – The Identification Process and Theme five – Racialized Experiences will be thoroughly discussed in Chapter V – Findings Part Two.

Description of Respondents

Each respondent in the current study completed a Qualtrics survey, which asked several questions regarding their demographics, family background information, as well as their opinions about identification processes and racialized experiences. The respondents' descriptions were generated from the completed Qualtrics surveys and have been listed in order based on how they self-identify. All respondents have been categorized under a pseudonym to preserve anonymity and confidentiality of the research.

Natasha

Natasha is a second-generation African immigrant from Atlanta, Georgia. Her age is in the 26 – 33 range. The highest level of education she has completed is a bachelor's degree. Currently, she works part-time as a café owner and freelance graphic designer. She is also a mother. Both of her parents were born and raised in Nigeria and

came to the United States in the year 1980. When Natasha was asked, "…why did she [mother] come to the United States?" her top response indicated that her mother came for school/education reasons. When the same question was asked about her father, her top response indicated to improve his economic situation. Both of her parents are college educated. Her mother obtained a bachelor's degree while her father received a doctorate degree. Her mother's occupation is a caretaker, and her father's career is a pharmacist. Lastly, when asked about her mother's identity, "how does she identify herself?" she indicated as African. When the same question was asked about her father's identity, "how does he identify himself?" she noted as African. In terms of her racial or ethnic identity, she identified as African-American.

Monet

Monet is a second-generation African immigrant from Atlanta, Georgia. Her age is between the 18 – 25 range. The highest level of education she has completed is a bachelor's degree. Currently, she works part-time as a teaching assistant. Both of her parents were born in Nigeria. However, her mother was raised in London and first arrived in the United States in the year 2000 while her father arrived in the previous year (1999). When Monet was asked, "…why did she [mother] come to the United States?" she indicated that she 'did not know.' When the same question was asked about her father, her top response indicated that she did not know, but also stated that he came to the United States to reunite with family. Both of her parents have different educational attainment levels. Her mother completed some college hours while her father obtained an associate degree. Her mother's occupation is a wound care specialist. However, she is

not unaware of her father's profession. Lastly, when asked about her mother's and father's identity, "how does she/he identify themselves?" she indicated that both her mother and father identified as Nigerian. In terms of her racial or ethnic identity, Monet identified as African-American.

Monet was the fourth respondent that participated in the follow-up interview process. During the telephone interview, it seems to the me that Monet was shy and reserved. The tone in her voice suggested that she did not feel comfortable about the interview. Therefore, it required the researcher to take a subtler approach and slightly prod for her to open up. As the interview progressed, she frequently mentioned how she did not feel qualified, or the best person to speak about certain issues regarding race or did not feel comfortable in Black and African spaces. However, after the interview, she thanked the researcher for the opportunity to discuss and address these issues. She believed that it was essential to talk about these things because there are an underlining confusion and discomfort she feels as a second-generation African immigrant.

Christine

Christine is a second-generation African immigrant from Chandler, Arizona. Her age is between the 18 – 25 range. The highest level of education she has completed is a bachelor's degree. Currently, she works part-time as a desk assistant. Both of her parents were born and raised in Nigeria. Her father arrived in the United States in 1979. Her mother came to the United States in 1995. When asked the question, "…why did she [mother] come to the United States?" Christine indicated that her mother came for other reasons – her mother married her father, who lived in the US. When the same question

was asked about her father, she indicated that he came to improve his economic situation. Both of her parents have different educational attainment levels. Her mother obtained an associate degree while her father got a doctorate degree. Her mother's occupation is a registered nurse, and her father's career is a pharmacist. Lastly, when asked about her parent's identity, "how does she [her mother] identify herself?" and "how does he [her father] identify himself?" Christine indicated that both her mother and father identified as Nigerian. In terms of her own racial or ethnic identity, Christine identified as Other – Nigerian-American.

Taylor

Taylor is a second-generation African immigrant from Austin, Texas. Her age is between the 18 – 25 range. The highest level of education she has completed is some college hours. Currently, she works part-time as a cashier, and she is a student in college. Both of her parents were geographically born in different parts of the world. Her mother was born in Austin, Texas, while her father was born in Nigeria. Taylor was unsure about the year her father came to the United States. However, she indicated that he came over the States when he was sixteen years old. When asked the question, "…why did he [her father] come to the United States?" Taylor indicated that her father wanted to improve his economic situation. Both of her parents have different educational attainment levels. Her mother obtained a bachelor's degree while her father obtained some college hours. Regarding their occupations, her mother is a social worker, and her father is a cab driver. Lastly, when asked about her parent's identity, "how does she [her

mother] identify herself?" and "how does he [her father] identify himself?" Taylor indicated that her mother identified as Black while her father identifies as Nigerian.

Taylor was the last respondent who participated in the follow-up interview process. I felt that Taylor's willingness to participate in the follow-up interview was a tedious process. The researcher had to reschedule her interview on multiple occasions due to school and work obligations. During Taylor's interview, she frequently discussed her personal battles with her skin color as well as racialized experiences in school. The personal battles with her skin color led Taylor to feel depleted, not worthy or beautiful. Listening to her accounts when addressing these issues was melancholy, and the researcher empathized with her. Taylor was very open to discussing her experiences as a second-generation immigrant. However, she had an acrimonious relationship with her father. She explained that she was never close to her father due to him divorcing her mother when she was young. Therefore, she was not afforded the opportunity to learn about African traditions, customs, and culture. Essentially, this led to Taylor being raised in a single-parent Black American household. Most importantly, this led to a disassociation of her rejecting her African roots and emphasizing a Black racial identity.

Nessa

Nessa is a second-generation African immigrant from Dallas, Texas. Her age is between the 18 – 25 range. The highest level of education she has obtained is a bachelor's degree. Currently, she works full-time as an Associate Media Strategist. Both of her parents were born and raised in Cameroon. Her mother arrived in the United States in 1994. As for her father, she was unsure of his arrival in the United States.

When asked the question, "…why did she [mother] come to the United States?" Nessa indicated her mother came 'to improve her economic situation.' When the same question was asked about her father, she noted that she did not know. Both of her parents are highly educated. Her mother obtained a master's degree while her father got a doctorate degree. Regarding their occupations, her mother is a quality analyst, and her father is a lawyer. Lastly, when asked about her parent's identity, "how does she [her mother] identify herself?" and "how does he [her father] identify himself?" she indicated that both her mother and father identified as African.

Nessa was the third respondent who participated in the follow-up interview process. After learning about the research topic through her friend, Nessa expressed her interest in the study. The researcher found Nessa's interview to be interesting. She was an engaging respondent, and she was detailed in her responses. In terms of her own identity, Nessa identifies as Black. She believed that identifying as Black meant that one could be Black in Africa as well as Black in America. It was interesting to hear her jaw-dropping accounts of discrimination and racism she has experienced.

Conversely, to hear about her first visiting her parent's homeland was a delightful experience. The interview with Nessa ran for precisely one hour. However, once the interviewer was over with, Nessa and the researcher continued to speak about research. She believed that this research was well-needed and could not wait to see the finishing product of the study.

Niyah

Niyah is a second-generation African immigrant from Dallas, Texas. Her age is between the 26 – 33 range. The highest level of education she has obtained is a master's degree. Currently, she works full-time as in Contracting as an Administrative Contracting Officer. Both of her parents were born and raised in Nigeria. Her father arrived in the United States in 1979. As for her mother, she arrived the following year in 1980. When asked the question, "…why did she [mother] come to the United States?" Niyah indicated her mother came to reunite with her family. When the same question was asked about her father, she stated that he wanted to improve his economic situation. Both of her parents have different levels of education. Her mother has completed some college hours while her father has a high school education.

Regarding their occupations, Niyah is unaware of her father's profession. Her mother, on the other hand, is a surgical technician. Lastly, when asked about her parent's identity, "how does she [her mother] identify herself?" and "how does he [her father] identify himself?" Niyah indicated that both her mother and father identified as African.

Niyah was the second respondent to participate in the follow-up interview. During her interview (as well as in the survey), she discussed the importance of her Nigerian identity. Her Nigerian heritage and cultural pride derived from how her parents socialized her. She also discussed the tensions between both African immigrants and African-America in today's society and how these tensions lead to unfamiliarity from both parties. While Niyah's interview was direct and thorough, the researcher enjoyed hearing about her experiences and valued her perspective on the subject matter.

Valarie

Valarie is a second-generation African immigrant from Dallas, Texas. Her age is between the 26 – 33 range. The highest level of education she has obtained is a bachelor's degree. Currently, she works full-time as a registered nurse. Both of her parents were born and raised in Nigeria. Her father arrived in the United States in 1984. As for her mother, she arrived two years later in 1986. When asked the question, "…why did she [mother] come to the United States?" Valarie indicated her mother came to improve her economic situation. When the same question was asked about her father, she stated that he wanted to improve his economic situation as well. Both of her parents are college-educated, holding bachelor's degrees. Regarding their occupation, her mother is a nurse, and her father is an engineer. Lastly, when asked about her parent's identity, "how does she [her mother] identify herself?" and "how does he [her father] identify himself?" Valarie indicated that both her mother and father identified as African. In terms of her own racial or ethnic identity, she identifies based on her national origin, which is Nigerian.

Sarah

Sarah is a second-generation African immigrant from El Paso, Texas. Her age is between the 18 – 25 range. The highest level of education she has completed is some college hours. Currently, she is not employed but states her occupation as a student. Both of her parents are different regions of Nigeria. Her mother was born in Lagos, Nigeria, while her father was born in Kano State, Nigeria. When asked the question, "…why did he [father] come to the United States?" Sarah indicated her father came to the US to

improve his economic situation.' When asked the same question about her mother, she reported that her mother wanted to reunite with family. Both of her parents are highly educated, holding master's degrees. Her mother's occupation is the CEO of a physical therapy practice, and her father is a physical therapist. Lastly, when asked about her parent's identity, "how does she [her mother] identify herself?" and "how does he [her father] identify himself?" Sarah indicated that both her mother and father identified as Nigerian. In terms of her own racial or ethnic identity, she, too, identifies as Nigerian.

Nola

Nola is a second-generation African immigrant from Dallas, Texas. Her age is between the 26 – 33 range. The highest level of education she has completed is a master's degree. Currently, she works full-time as a Senior Manager, Program Evaluator, for a non-profit organization. Both of her parents were born and raised in Nigeria. Her father first came to the United States in 1982. As for her mother, she arrived two years later in 1984. When asked the question, "…why did she [her mother] come to the United States?" Nola indicated that her mother came to improve her economic situation. When the same question was asked about her father, Nola stated that he wanted to improve his economic situation as well. Both of her parents obtained an associate degree. Regarding their occupations, her mother is a scrub nurse, and her father works in the pharmaceutical industry. Lastly, when asked about her parent's identity, "how does she [her mother] identify herself?" and "how does he [her father] identify himself?" Nola indicated that her mother identified as African while her father identified as Nigerian. In terms of her own racial or ethnic identity, she identifies as Nigerian-American.

Nola was the first respondent who participated in the follow-up interview. The researcher found great interest in Nola's experiences. She was outspoken, articulate, and detailed orientated in each of her responses. An exciting discovery during her interview was how well Nola was versed in issues regarding diversity, equity, and white supremacy culture in non-profit organizations and education. Also, she also discussed her upbringing in an African household while adjusting to the microaggressions she experienced in school and the workplace. These experiences, she believes, ultimately shaped her idea about race relations in the United States as well as how she identifies.

Samantha

Samantha is a second-generation African immigrant from Atlanta, Georgia. Her age is between the 26 – 33 range. The highest level of education she has completed is a master's degree. Currently, she works full-time as a Licensed Mental Health Therapist. Both of her parents were born and raised in Nigeria. Her father first came to the United States in 1980. As for her mother, it is unknown when she arrived in the United States. When asked the question, "…why did she [her mother] come to the United States?" Samantha indicated that her mother came to for education reasons. When asked the same question about her father, she notes that he came to improve his economic situation. Both of her parents are college-educated, with her obtaining a bachelor's degree and her father obtaining a doctorate degree. Regarding their occupations, Nola's mother is in the nursing field, and her father is a pharmacist. Lastly, when asked about her parent's identity, "how does she [her mother] identify herself?" and "how does he [her father] identify himself?" Samantha reports that her mother identifies as Nigerian while her

father identities as either British or Jamaican. In terms of her own racial or ethnic identity, Samantha identifies as Other – "First gen-American of Nigerian heritage."

Oakley

Oakley is a second-generation African immigrant from Austin, Texas. His age is between the 26 – 33 range. The highest level of education she has completed is a bachelor's degree. Currently, he is not employed but stated that he works in sales. Both of his parents were born and raised in Nigeria. His father first came to the United States in 1979. As for his mother, she came to the United States in 1980. When asked the question, "…why did she [her mother] come to the United States?" Oakley indicated that his mother came for educational reasons. When asked the same question about his father, he notes that he came for education reasons as well. Both of his parents are highly educated, each of them obtaining a master's degree. Regarding their occupations, Oakley's mother is a nurse practitioner, and his father is a pharmacist. Lastly, when asked about his parent's identity, "how does she [her mother] identify herself?" and "how does he [her father] identify himself?" Oakley reports that her mother identifies as Igbo while her father identities as either Nigerian. In terms of her own racial or ethnic identity, Oakley identifies as Other – Igbo or "black" American.

Max

Max is a second-generation African immigrant from Richardson, Texas. His age is between the 18 – 25 range. The highest level of education he has completed is a bachelor's degree. Currently, he is a full-time employed as Store Manager - Retail. Both of his parents were born and raised in Nigeria. His father first came to the United States

in 1979. As for his mother, she came to the United States in 1981. When asked the question, "…why did she [her mother] come to the United States?" Max indicated that his mother came to reunite with his family. When asked the same question about his father, he notes that he came to improve his economic situation. Both of his parents obtained an associate degree. Regarding their occupations, Max is unaware of his father's profession. However, his mother is a Business owner/Home health giver. Lastly, when asked about his parent's identity, "how does she [her mother] identify herself?" and "how does he [her father] identify himself?" Max reports that both his mother and father identify as Nigerian. In terms of his own racial or ethnic identity, Max identifies as Other – Nigerian-American.

Cheri

Cheri is a second-generation African immigrant from Houston, Texas. Her age is between the 26 – 33 range. The highest level of education she has completed is a bachelor's degree. Currently, she is not employed and states her occupation is a student. Both of his parents were born and raised in Imo State, Nigeria. His father first came to the United States in 1975. As for her mother, she came to the United States in 1980. When asked the question, "…why did she [her mother] come to the United States?" Cheri indicated that her mother came to improve her economic situation. When asked the same question about her father, she notes that he came to improve his economic situation as well. Both of Cheri's parents are highly educated. Her father and mother both obtained a master's degree. Regarding their occupations, her mother is a nurse practitioner, and her father is a pharmacist. Lastly, when asked about her parent's

identity, “how does she [her mother] identify herself?” and “how does he [her father] identify himself?” Cheri reported that both her mother and father identify as African. In terms of her own racial or ethnic identity, Cheri identifies as Black.

Martha

Martha is a second-generation African immigrant from Manhattan, NY. Her age is between the 18 – 25 range. The highest level of education she has completed is a bachelor’s degree. Currently, she works part-time as a Sales Associate at Lululemon. Both of her parents were born and raised in Ghana. When asked the question, “…why did she [her mother] come to the United States?” and “…why did he [her father] come to the United States?” Martha indicated that her parents improve their economic situation. In specific, her father obtained a job in the United States. Both of Martha’s parents are highly educated as they have earned master’s degrees. Regarding their occupations, her mother is a realtor, and her father works in the mining industry. Lastly, when asked about her parent’s identity, “how does she [her mother] identify herself?” and “how does he [her father] identify himself?” Martha reported that both her mother and father identify as Ghanaian. In terms of her own racial or ethnic identity, Martha identifies as Other – stating that she is “technically” African American, but since her parents are immigrants and cultural reasons, she identifies more as African.

Abbigail

Abbigail is a second-generation African immigrant from New Jersey. Her age is between the 18 – 25 range. The highest level of education she has completed is a bachelor’s degree. Currently, she works part-time as an instructor. Both of her parents

were born and raised in Ghana. She was unaware of when her father came to the United States. As for her mother, she came to the United States in 1991. When asked the question, "…why did she [her mother] come to the United States?" Martha indicated that her mother came to reunite with her family. When the same question was asked about her father, she did not know his reason. Both of Abbigail's parents have different educational attainment levels. Her mother completed an associate degree while her father completed some college hours. Regarding their occupations, her mother is a registered nurse, and her father is a taxi driver. Lastly, when asked about her parent's identity, "how does she [her mother] identify herself?" and "how does he [her father] identify himself?" Abbigail reported that both her mother and father identify as Ghanaian. In terms of her own racial or ethnic identity, Martha identifies as Other – Ghanaian-American.

Overall, the current study was comprised of fifteen respondents. Fifteen respondents answered the questionnaire. Out of the fifteen respondents who answered the questionnaire, five female respondents participated in a follow-up interview. The sample contains a total of thirteen women and two men. These respondents participated, virtually online, in their respective states across the United States. All of the respondents were above the age of 18 and under the age of the 33. The age range between respondents was not surprising, given the fact that second-generation is a young population. In reviewing the data, I noticed that all of my respondents provided very detailed responses to the questions asked on the questionnaire. Also, the respondents in the current study hailed from middle-class families. Some of the respondent's parents

were college educated and held prestigious occupations. In turn, the respondents in my study were college-educated professionals. Moreover, the respondents who participated in the follow-up interviews, were enthusiastic and provided me with great insight about their experiences as second-generation Black immigrants. Lastly, several respondents provide general feedback about survey and offered great recommendations about how to improve on this topic.

Briefly, I want to reminder the readers that there were five themes that emerged from the data. However, chapter four will discuss three of the five themes found. The three themes that will be discussed in this chapter are: 1) Family context, 2) The Social Context, and 3) Pilgrimage to Africa. The family context discusses how respondents were socialized in racial and ethnic households. Second, the social context describes the race relations between African Americans and African immigrants. Lastly, the third theme examines the transnational practices of second-generation Black immigrants. The proceeding section will further discuss these findings.

The Family Context

The role of the family plays a critical part in the upbringing of an individual. Recognized as the most influential agent of socialization, the family can help an individual discover who they are, what is expected of them, and how their society operates and functions (Croteau and Hoynes 2017). Most importantly, individuals can understand where they are situated within society. For second-generation Africa immigrants, this socialization process is a complex one. They are raised in a household that "socializes them into norms and values associated with their parents' home

countries" (Gutierrez 2018:230). This included "stressing the importance of national origin…maintaining the origin country [of their parents] and so-called African values and norms in the home such as respect for elders, strong family and ethnic ties and a focus on education to improve one's socio-economic stands" (Chacko 2018:6). For the respondents in the current study, the vital relationship they had with their parents, their birthplace, and the motherland were gorged with blissful, schmaltz, familial memories, and unhappy recollections.

Respondents were consistent when discussing the morals that their parents instilled in them as a child. When asked the question, "Describe in detail, important and specific examples of how your parent(s) emphasized the prominence of national origin, African values, traditions and customs during your childhood," a few respondents shared their sentiments. For instance, Oakley noted that his parents placed "… a heavy emphasis on respect for elders. Respect was something every important in their culture…the act of taking or giving things [with] your left hand was highly prohibited." Martha stated that her "parents were also innately Nigeria – the food they ate, their accent, and their friends. I had nothing to compare this to, so it was normal for me." Valarie echoed a similar sentiment stating that her "parents displayed these [things] by telling me stories about their childhood, teaching me certain customs/traditions, taking me to Nigeria, and attending local cultural/traditional events."

Other respondents, such as Niyah, Christine, and Abbigail, provided a detailed account of how their parent's teachings were emphasized during their childhood:

> Niyah: My dad was always big on teaching us Nigerian traditions and customs during our childhood. He would tell us about our grandparents and describe the family values. My mom immersed my brothers and I in the culture as well. Nigerians are big on respect. She would always teach us the proper way to greet others and how to show signs of respect to our elders. Both of my parents would cook Nigerian food. Growing up all of these things were second nature to us. I appreciate the fact that they took the time to teach us the values and customs growing up.
>
> Christine: Legally, my first name is _____, but I have always gone by my middle name. My last name was always emphasized by my father as something to be proud of, especially with its meaning (Fiery Lion) and how the name was adopted by our great-great grandfather. Furthermore, we were, and still are, extremely active in the Nigerian community, both in Arizona and national, attending annual conventions and reuniting with family and friends from all over the nation. While I am not fluent in my parent's native language, I understand it perfectly and can speak enough to get by. Til' this day, my parents speak the language at home. We also eat Nigerian food regularly, participate in the cultural events, and wear the traditional clothing. Most of my extended family is still in Nigeria so we make visits to the country when we can, and those family members visit us as well, keeping us in the loop on what is happening.
>
> Abbigail: Another situation that really emphasized the prominence of my national origin was interacting with other second-generation Ghanaian kids. Some of my cousins and family friends had no clue they were Ghanaian except for their parents telling them. I felt like I was the "most" Ghanaian out of the people I grew up with. This realization pushed me to learn more, and still pushes me to learn more. I want my children to be able to understand what their grandmother is saying if she says something to them in Twi. Realizing that my age-mates did not really care about being Ghanaian made me sad and drove me to try and influence them in any way possible. I tried to remind them that knowing where you are from is a luxury not every African-American is America can experience. We were lucky.

The previous respondents informed us Niyah reported that her teachings as a child consisted of Nigerian traditions and customs as well as descriptions of family members back home. Christine's childhood experiences inform us about the importance of namesakes and actively engaging in Nigerian communal events. However, notice how Abbigail discusses her identity in the context of family. She felt "most" Ghanaian

amongst the people she grew up with. Furthermore, she stressed the importance of knowing-where-you-come from in comparison to her Black American counterparts. Based on these accounts of these respondents, the family content plays a pivotal role in their childhood. All three respondents saw their family teachings as a positive attribute during their childhood. These teachings not only provided a sense of cultural awareness but emphasized an ethnic identity that is distinct from Black racial identity.

Other respondents, like Natasha, Nola, and Samantha, explained how their parent's teachings were emphasized during their childhood, which differed from white mainstream teachings.

> Natasha: They emphasized African culture mostly b/c that's all they knew and American culture has a negative rep of being more "loose." We were not allowed to do a lot of "American things like spend the night at friends' houses and go camping etc.
>
> Nola: My mom emphasized the important of respecting elders, the importance of getting an education, and working twice as hard as my peers (because society would pre-judge me by my skin, and my last name). I was raised to respond to my elders with "Yes, ma'am", "No, sir" instead of "yeah", or "nope". Although I am an adult, I still respond to my elders in this manner today. Growing up, the only option in our home was to get good grades and go to college. I was told countless of times that with an education, anything is possible. Lastly, I grew up with a "no excuses" mentality. My mom often named that I would be discriminated against because of the color of my skin, or because of my foreign last name, but that meant that I had to work twice as hard in order to succeed in this county.
>
> Samantha: "White" and "American" were used interchangeably. So, when comparing our behaviors, it was known that we shouldn't behave like our white friends—but what was really being condemned was American behavior. Such as a lack of privacy— "white people run their mouth and share their personal business...we don't do that." But it was somehow known that white in this context meant American. We were very westernized which was and is confusing because we adopted so much "white culture"/Americanness (mostly the superficial) but looked down on other parts of the same culture like not greeting elders or the owner of the home that you are being hosted in. All I knew is that

> my other friends were different. Their homes were more relaxed and happier. There was less criticism and judgement of behaviors. It felt more accepting & welcoming. For me it also helped that my best friend was/is first generation American of Indian heritage. We lived parallel lives which was unknowingly validating at the time.

Notice the testimonies of Natasha, Nola, and Samantha. In each of these accounts, there is a consistent response of how their parents enforced African traditions in their homes that did not align with the white, dominant, mainstream traditions. In their respective homes, their parents highlighted behaviors or emphasized messages that aligned with an ethnic identity. For Natasha, her parents did not allow her to participate in everyday, American activities due them viewing the American culture as lax and irresponsible. Based on these assumptions, her parents chose to protect her from the disapproving reputation of American culture.

For Nola, her mother enforced a variety of teachings. Nola was taught the important African cultural traditions like showing respect to elders and getting an education. However, in these teachings, Nola learned that her skin tone and foreign last name were precursors of prejudices and discrimination outside her home. For Samantha, her teachings consisted of contradictory practices. She was socialized in house with African values, but adapted to white, mainstream, America. She also recognizing whiteness equated to privilege and power. However, these opportunities were not afforded to because due to her racial and ethnic identities. Based on the accounts of Natasha, Nola, and Samantha, the family context played a pivotal role in their childhood as well. The family context provided an authoritative role for these respondents and the

teaching emphasized an ethnic identity that is distinct from Black racial identity in white, mainstream society.

While most respondents were able to provide a critical or prideful sentiment of the values, traditions, and customs they acquired during their childhood, other respondents emphasized a not so prideful feeling. For example, when asked the same question, "Describe in detail, important and specific examples of how your parent(s) emphasized the prominence of national origin, African values, traditions and customs during your childhood" Taylor replied:

> My mother is fully black she was born and raised in Austin, Tx when her and my father were together my father use to make foo foo and stew it was my favorite thing to eat when I was younger because it looked like clouds. After my parents divorced when I was 5, I stopped learning about the African culture. My mother only taught me what she knew and that was the black culture, my dad and his family didn't teach me or my brothers anything about the language or the clothing. Growing up I use to feel bad because I thought maybe if I knew the culture, I could connect with my dad more but now I don't care.

Notice how Taylor explains her experiences learning about the African values and traditions of during her childhood. Initially, her experiences started off as positive with both her of parents in the household. She participated in the African customs by eating the foods. However, her experiences became negative with the divorce of her parents. Furthermore, the interactions between her, her father, and his side of the family diminished. As a result, this led to Taylor feeling a sense of abandonment. Based on Taylor's account, it can be inferred that Taylor became desensitized to African values and traditions. Furthermore, she had denounced her ties to her ethnic identity.

More generally, respondents also recollected the values that they learned as a child and embraced them into their adulthood years. As they noted their experiences,

they emphasized the importance of the values their parents instilled in them in education, religion, intimate relationships, and professional careers. Second generation African immigrants are not just a "mere reflection of their parents, nor are they isolated from African Americans; rather they are, to a certain extent, 'African Americanized'" (Clark 2008:173, as cited in Kebede 2018:12). They have been socialized to replicate the values and traditions of their parents. These values extend outside of the household. When asked the question "Describe in detail, important and specific examples of how your parent(s) emphasized the prominence of national origin, African values, traditions and customs during your adulthood" a few respondents shared their sentiments:

> Niyah: I think growing up in Nigerian culture has shaped me as an adult in many ways. I still have those values instilled in me, and I notice it every day. For example, I always refer to someone older than me as Mr. or Mrs. in front of their name. I cringe if one of my friends calls my parents by their first name. This is just an example of how Nigerian customs have been implemented into my adult life. Looking back, I would have loved to learn the language.

The testimony by Niyah indicates that traditions and values that she has learned growing up in a Nigerian household as a child, continues to be applied in her adult years. She approaches this by accentuating an ethnic identity. Specifically, the importance of showing respect to an elder is held with high regard in the Nigerian community.

> Max: Growing older there less of a grip parents have on a child. Sure, there's always the emphasis on you need to do this or come to this event, it's important in our culture. Now a days it's not as enforced. I definitely have a more wholistic worldly view of things due to the cultural values my parents instilled in me. My views haven't changed to the core but the way I interact with others shifts depending on who the person is. If there's one thing I'd change it's by being more involved with my culture and other like myself growing up. I feel a sort of disconnect with other Nigerians & missed out on building long term family bonds.

Notice here how Max distinguishes the authoritative role of his parents. As a child, he was regulated to participate in African communal events. Now, in his adult years, it is not required as much for him to be engaged. However, it is interesting to see how he speaks to a "disconnect" of his ethnic identity. Although he implements the traditions and values that he learned as a child, he yearns to be active again in these environments.

> Christine: Interestingly enough, there hasn't been much change. Since leaving home, I'm not as directly exposed to my Nigerian parents, but I carry with me all of their teachings. They've also adapted to American culture in a lot of ways. For example, as opposed to ranting on why I should wait until I'm done with all of my schooling to start dating, my mother has been open to hearing about my past relationships. Some of the harmful stereotypes portrayed in the media about black Americans are no longer held by my parents after being around and befriending them since moving here. However, my parents actively educating us on our heritage hasn't happened too much in adulthood because it already happened during childhood.

Christine's testimony details several things. Although she has retained the traditions and customs from her childhood, as an adult, she is not involved or exposed to Nigerian community events. The family dynamics between her and her parents have culturally shifted. Though her parents have retained some of their African heritage, they have adapted to dominate, mainstream American culture. Surprisingly, Christine's parent has also rejected the preconceived notions that stigmatize the African American community considering their ethnic identity. Based on this finding, the family context for Christine has slowly shifted from an ethnic identity to racial-ethnic identity.

> Nola: Now that I am an adult, and I have all of my college degrees, and I am in the workforce, my mom has become more adamant that I do NOT settle for less. If I'm working more, I should fight to get more money. If I have more education or work experience than my colleagues, I should fight to get more money. The burden of how others view me based on my race and ethnicity is no longer mine -

> it is theirs. Looking back, I would have wanted to learn my native language (Yoruba). Language is the easier way to continue to pass down one's culture.

Nola's comments present several interesting findings. First, notice her educational attainment level and her emphasis on college degrees. This implies that she highly educated. Previous research has indicated that second-generation Black immigrants are college degreed (Kebede 2017). Second, notice how her gender, race and ethnicity affect her position in the workforce. These entities intersect with each other. Therefore, it can be implied that based on her experience, she has faced discrimination based on her overlapping identities.

> Monet: The same things mentioned are still relevant in my adulthood. My mother is a devout Christian, so seeing how important it was and the impact it made in her life translated to me. Education is also important to me however I feel like many times African parents are used to the traditional jobs like doctors, lawyers, businessman and don't give their children the opportunity to explore other areas because they are not used to them or don't understand that there are multiple ways to achieve your goals. Lastly, I am not in support of traditional gender norms. My mom raised me to be independent, but she still emphasizes cooking and cleaning and how it will "help me when a man is looking for a wife." I do not have a problem cooking and cleaning, but I do not think that those things make one "wifey material" like she thinks, and I am less feminine at times than she is simply because we have different interests and different personalities. I like being more comfortable, sports, hanging with boys etc.

Monet's testimony highlights an interesting finding. Monet discusses the importance of religion in her mother's life. Like her mother, she too, has connected herself to the same religious based practices of Christianity. Next, she understands of importance of an education, but does not necessarily agree with the traditional thoughts of obtaining a job with status and prestige.. Traditionally, in an African households, education and professional careers are important to African parents. What is even more interesting is how Monet rejects gender norms. She does not believe in the traditional,

white mainstream America gender roles that have been associated to women, even though her mom emphasizes them from time to time. Based on her response, I believe that Monet picks and chooses which African/American value and traditions she wants to adhere to.

Another respondent, Taylor, noted a sentiment that was different from other respondents when asked about the prominence of national origin, African values, traditions, and customs during her adulthood. She stated the following:

> Taylor: If I would do anything differently it would be to not be African. I feel like if my mother didn't marry my father than maybe I would've had a father in my life. And I wouldn't have to explain to everyone how to correctly pronounce my last name every time someone sees it.

In addition to the values, traditions, customs that second-generation African immigrants have inherited from their parents, some participants reported their experiences using linguistics around family and friends. Language is "closely, and affectively, connected to the formation and maintenance of ethnic identity – both within and without the family" (Cropley 1983; Phinney 1990, 1991; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 1995 as cited in Rumbaut 1994). In most African households, parents will use a variety of languages to engage in a conversation with their children in the house (Thomas 2010). The languages that parents typically use are either English or their native tongue. In these conversations, a child is given the opportunity to respond back to their parents in their native tongue or English.

As a child, I remember the conversations that I would engage in with my parents while making several attempts to respond back to in their native tongue. Sometimes I would answer correctly. Other times, what I said as a response would be incorrect

because of pronunciation. American English is my primary language, and it is the "dominant language spoken by many second-generation immigrants" (Balogun 2011) in the United States. Respondents discussed their proficiency in a language other than English. When asked the question, "Do you speak a language other than English with family or friends?" 20% (3 of 15) of the respondents indicated yes. In particular, Abbigail and Martha spoke Twi, a dialect of the Akan language spoken in Ghana. On the other hand, Sarah spoke Yoruba, which is a language spoken in West Africa and native to Nigeria, Benin, and Togo. A second question inquired about the fluency in a non-English language. When asked about the "Ability to Speak?" the non-English language, Abbigail, as well as Martha, indicated an *average* level of fluency in Twi. Contrarily, Sarah indicated a *below-average* level of fluency in Yoruba. When asked about the "Ability to Understand?" the non-English language, all three respondents indicated a *very good* ability to understand their respective non-English languages. Lastly, when asked, "How often do you use this language when you are talking with family or friends?" all three respondents indicated that they use their respective non-English languages *from time to time*.

Taken as a whole, the finding in this section suggests that the family plays a vital role in the construction of a transnational identity among second-generation. The majority of respondents in this section attested to the impact of being raised in a household with African values and cultural traditions of the first generation. The interactions with their parents were positive. Their socialization into African culture is apparent. Several second-generation African immigrants reported they know "how to

speak the heritage language, adhere to the values of respecting one's elders, commitment to education, and community centeredness and being sent to the ancestral land to have a cultural connection to their ancestral land" (Tiilikainen 2017; Kwarteng 2016; Mohme 2014 as cited by Kebede 2019). Even though second-generation African immigrants have been socialized in their respective settings, it does not mean that they will duplicate their parent's transnational activities to create a transnational identity.

The Social Context

The social context is another theme that emerged from the data. This theme focuses on a discussion of the race relations between second-generation African immigrants and their Black counterparts. Despite the cultural and ethnic characteristics second-generation African immigrants exemplify, they are categorized as Black as a result of their racial phenotype (Wachira 2013:27). So, when respondents were asked the question, "How would you describe the relationship between African immigrants and African-Americans in United States?" a few respondents shared negative remarks:

> Cheri: I think there is a lot of misunderstood information between African immigrants and African Americans. There does not appear to be strong connections across those communities.

Based on Cheri's remarks, it can be implied that a relationship between Black Americans and Black immigrants cannot exist until both groups reject the misconceptions, they have for each other.

> Monet: I believe there is a lot of disconnect. Some of my African American friends claim they are not "African" but simply just black or are Trinidadian or Afro- Latina etc. even though I try explaining that we are all of African descent. I have also heard from many friends that Africans feel more superior and don't like black Americans.

Monet, similarly, addresses her comments by suggesting that the dissonance between both groups. Based on this discord, there is a perceived notion that Black immigrants have a distaste for Black Americans, and that they look down on them. Despite these sentiments, an interesting find is that she is cognizant of the fact that all Black people, whether they identify ethnically or racially, are connected to the continent of Africa. Still, perceptions result in the practice of social distancing between each other.

> Samantha: I believe Africans look down on black Americans and blame them for other ethnicities not being accepting of darker skinned individuals. Black Americans are seen to be less educated and less couthed. I believe black Americans consider people like myself to be out of touch with our "blackness," or preoccupied with "trying to be white." I'm seen as somewhat less black than they are. Perhaps even less impacted by racial inequality & prejudice.

Notice how Samantha's account is different from the previous respondents. Her comments provide a justification for the division between Black Americans and Black immigrants. Specifically, she places blame on Black Americans as Black immigrants are the subjects of prejudices and discriminatory acts from other groups. Furthermore, she recognizes how these performances by other ethnic groups endorse and perpetuate a dominant framing that is related to black intelligence and competence (Feagin 2013). For Samantha, the social context is integral dimension to her identity because it questions the authenticities of her race during the interactions.

> Natasha: Unfortunately, I think African Americans (meaning generally black Americans/people who would call themselves American) have a tendency to look down on African immigrants. There is a "we" and "them" unspoken division.

This unspoken division that Natasha is referring to is the position that Blacks hold in a racial hierarchy system. How race is defined in one society, will not be the same for another. For example, Blacks born in the United States, they are situated at the

bottom of the racial hierarchy, as the dominant class remains at the top. White people, also known as the dominant group, implement a social hierarchy through a dominant frame (white frame) that shapes not only everyday thinking but also institutional systems (Feagin 2013). However, for African immigrants, they migrate to the United States from their home countries and are placed in hierarchies where "social class, occupation, wealth, ancestry, and education outweigh skin color in defining social status" (Foner 2005 as cited by Wachira).

Other respondents shared positive remarks about the race relations between African immigrants and Blacks:

> Abbigail: I believe the relationship between the two groups has gotten better than what it was like when our parents came to America. African-Americans have started to find out countries they are from through genetical ancestry programs. When they meet other African immigrants sometimes that can remind them of home, and they have a physical representation of where they might be from. I also believe second generation Africans are helping to bridge the gap between the two groups. I know during my time at _____, ASA tried to be involved with other African-American organizations on campus. I made an effort to reach out to African-Americans, and not be around other Africans all the time.

In her commentary Abbigail offers a positive recognition of how Black Americans have taken the opportunity to mend the relations with Black immigrants. Recognizing how the tension persisted between Black Americans and first-generation Black immigrants, she has witnessed the tension eased between in her generation. Note how she explains the subtleties between both groups. Black Americans are interested in learning about Black immigrants' ancestral homelands. In turn, Black immigrants are making a conscious effort to engage with Black Americans. Therefore, the relationships emerging out of these social contexts are slowly changing for the better.

Other respondents shared neutral remarks:

> Nessa: I think both groups don't really understand each other's struggles. African immigrants know how bad the world can get when you don't have access to resources on a global scale, but African-Americans in the US see their experience more through the eyes of an American with the privileges that that has. With that being said, I don't think a lot of African immigrants acknowledge the fight that African Americans had to undergo just for African immigrants to be able to come here and live comfortably.

Nessa starts off her comments by discussing the relationship between Black Americans and Black immigrants. She infers that both groups share a common struggle. For Black immigrants, they struggle due to the practices of globalization. This can also include experiences from anti-other frames that has been perpetuated towards from non-African peers. For Black Americans, they are able to see their experiences from the lens of an anti-other subframe that has been perpetuated towards them from non-Black groups in America. However, Nessa makes an interesting comment when she implies that African immigrants do not "acknowledge the fight" of African-American struggles in the United States. This fight that she is referring could most likely refers to the systems of the oppressions, racism, and discrimination that has been perpetuated by the Whites since the inception of the United States. Based on her comments, she believes that both groups are disconnected because there is a lack of empathy.

> Niyah: The relationship between African immigrants and African-Americans can be negative at times. For example, I have been in several situations where African Americans mock African immigrants. I have heard them insult the way they speak or use offensive terms against them. I honestly think this stems from ignorance. Rather than embrace the culture and learn more about it, some African Americans tend to be xxxx? However, on the reverse side I have seen African immigrants treat African Americans unfairly. There are times that I have seen African immigrants belittle African Americans. I will say that the majority of interactions that I have encountered between African immigrants and African Americans has been positive. Sometimes friendships are formed over the

> curiosity and love from each other's culture. For example, I have several friends who love to come over to eat our native Nigerian dishes or watch Nigerian movies.

Niyah's assessment of the relationship between Black American and Black immigrants implies several things. First, she indicates that there is a disconnect between both groups. Also, she implies that both groups utilize an *anti-black* frame to dehumanize each other. Specifically, Black Americans degrade Black immigrants through racialized stereotypes and prejudices. In turn, Black Africans degrade Black Americans through stereotypes. However, based on her experiences with her friends, she believes these explanations should not be a generalization for all Black Americans and Black African immigrants.

> Nola: I remember my roommate in college telling me that she identifies as "black", but not as "African-American" because she nor her family can trace their roots back to Africa, whereas it made sense for me to identify as African-American because I can directly trace my lineage back to Africa. I found this point of view to be very interesting because I felt that regardless of whether she could trace her ancestry to Africa, there was probably a 99.9% chance that her people came from Africa. I feel that sometimes these identifiers can further divide the black/AA community, especially as we face similar challenges (regardless of how we identify but based on how we look) in this country.

Nola's assessment of the relationship between Black American and Black immigrants implies several things. First, her roommate indicates a distinct difference between "Black" and "African-American". Because her roommate cannot trace her ancestry, she has settled for the identity of Black. However, Nola is aware that although her and her room do not share the same history, they share the same phenotype. Still, a division between both groups will persist.

> Max: Growing up you can definitely tell there are varying tensions between the two cultures. Africans often looked down on African Americans because they viewed them in the same sense European defendants viewed them. There was a sort of fear and disapproval geared towards the African American culture. The same could be said about how African Americans viewed African. partly I believe due to media and miseducation. Africans Americans from my personal experience viewed Africans as dirty, uneducated & poor. Of course, the perception varies from region to region but there is definitely some bad blood there. I vividly ever being one of 3 black kids in my elementary school but never being able to associate with the other black kids because there was some sort of cultural gap. They even called me the classic "African Booty Scratcher", which as a child you rarely understand why other black kids are isolating you. The same could also be said in the term "Akata" which Africans throw around freely without realizing they there is a negative connotation to that word.

Max's response presents three important issues when it comes to describing the relations between African immigrants and African-Americans in the United States. First, he notes that Africans "looked down African Americans" in the same disposition of whites. Here, he suggests that Africans utilize an *anti-black* frame; this is a frame that whites notoriously use to dehumanize African Americans in America. In turn, Max further indicates that African Americans apply the same *anti-black* frame used against them to degrade and disparage Africans. Second, African immigrants and African Americans are active participants of socially distancing themselves from each other.

Both groups hold negative stereotypes and preconceived notions about each other. In essence, this *anti-black* frame will be perpetuated and utilized against both African immigrants and African Americans by Whites. Lastly, in the racialized incident with Max, we see the use of ethnic slurs used by both African Americans and African immigrants. Slurs like *African Booty Scratcher* and *Akata* used by black groups indicates that "even within America's racialized system that categorizes all people with black skin as part of the black race, individuals within this racial category are still asserting and

maintain ethnic differences" (Imoagene 2015). For African immigrants, negotiating their identity means to operate under multiple identities while attempting to understand what it means to be black in the United States.

In conclusion, findings from the theme, The Social Context, indicated that most of the respondents described the relationships between African immigrants and African-Americans as negative. Respondents believe the negative perceptions are based on stereotypes and prejudices through media representation and a lack of historical/cultural content about Africans. Respondents are aware of their distinct cultural characteristics from African-Americans. Although they have been forced to struggle with a racial hierarchal system that views them as a monolithic culture and ethnic within African-Americans, they understand that they are not just "Black." They "operate as – Blacks and immigrants – in the United States under more levels of cross pressures, multiple affiliations, and inequalities than either native Blacks or European immigrants" (Bryce-Laporte 1972, p. 48).

Pilgrimage to Africa

Pilgrimage to Africa is another theme that was found in data. It has been noted that "transnational activities are expected to be at their greatest among first-generation immigrants who remain connected with their origin countries" (Chacko 2018). Furthermore, transnationalism among the second-generation takes on multiple forms, including visiting their parent's origin country, social media connections, career paths, and re-creating home life through their parent's social customs and religious practices foodways, and linguistic traditions (Kelly 2015; Chacko 2018). The findings in this

study indicate that second-generation African immigrants do not actively participate in transnational activities. While second-generation African immigrants participate in some transnational activities, transnationalism is primarily used as a lens to understand their identity.

From a personal account, I have always envisioned going to Africa. It is a place that I wanted to visit because of the stories I have heard from my parents and family members about how life was for them in Nigeria: from eating raw sugar out of sugar canes as little kids to going to an all-boys and girls boarding school, to gathering outside the compound of the late, great Fela Kuti to hear him and his band play their songs like "Beasts of No Nation" and "Water No Get Enemy." These are things I wish I could have experienced.

Although I know their experiences were not always great, their accounts of family life and the place of Nigeria appears to be a wonderland for me. Therefore, it was interesting to see how many of the respondents in the current study traveled to their parent's country of origin. More generally, when asked the question, "Have you traveled to Africa?" Sixty-seven percent (10 of 15) of respondents indicated *yes*, while thirty-three percent (5 of 15) of respondents indicated *no*. For second-generation immigrants, traveling to the country where their parents originated from is one of the best indicators of transnationalism (Kebede 2019).

Also, when asked the question, "What part(s) of Africa have you traveled to?" of the 10 (out of the 15) respondents who indicated they have traveled to Africa, fifty percent (5 of 10) of respondents have traveled to *Nigeria*, twenty percent (2 of 10) of

respondents have traveled to *Ghana,* ten percent (1 of 10) of respondents have traveled to *Cameroon*; and twenty percent (2 of 10) of respondents have traveled to multiple places in Africa. Abbigail was the only respondent to talk about her experience traveling to Africa. Here is her account, describing her experiences visiting Ghana:

> Abbigail: Visiting Ghana before I went to the fifth grade was an important time for me. I visited Ghana a couple times, but I was too young and did not remember much from previous visits. This trip was different because I was starting to understand who I was and where I was from. I knew the language and was able to participate in conversations (by replying in English/broken Twi). I was able to physically see where my mom grew up, who she grew up with and this helped me to understand what Ghana meant to her - which helped translate what Ghana meant to me.

For second-generation immigrants, traveling to their parent's homeland is essential. It fosters a "sense of belonging to the ancestral home" (Ndemanu 2019:8) as well as transformative experience because it can "serve as the building blocks for other forms of material and symbolic engagement" (Balogun 2011). Some scholars have discussed the frequencies and duration of stay for trips to the ancestral homeland for second generation. For example, Kasinitz et. al (2009) concluded that in order for travel to be considered a transnational activity for second-generation immigrants, "it should occur more than twice and that the duration of stay must be at least six months or more" (Kasinitz et. al 2009:259 as cited by Kebede 2019). In my sample, when respondents were asked the question, "How many times have you visited Africa?" of the 10 (out of the 15) respondents who indicated they have traveled to Africa, seventy percent (7 of 10) of respondents indicated they have visited Africa *one to three times* while thirty percent (3 of 10) of respondents indicated they have visited Africa *four to six times*.

Furthermore, when they were asked the question, "How long are your visits to Africa?" of the 10 (out of the 15) respondents who indicated they have visited Africa, fifty percent (5 of 10) of respondents indicated their visits to Africa are approximately *two weeks,* ten percent (1 of 10) respondents indicated their visits to Africa are approximately *three weeks,* and forty percent (4 of 10) respondents indicated their visits to Africa are approximately *one month*. Based on Kasinitiz et. al (2009) standards, the respondents in this current study do not meet this mark. However, the researcher aligns his views more with Kebede (2019) notion that "it is essential to explore and pay attention to how a single visit, lasting only two weeks, might have a profound impact on a second-generation immigrant" (p. 252).

Regarding the frequent visits and duration of visits to the motherland, the researcher also inquired about the family members and residence of relatives. When asked the question, "Do you have relatives in Africa?" all fifteen respondents indicated yes. In addition to having relatives in Africa, respondents were also asked their relative's place of residence in Africa. When asked the question, "Where in Africa do your relatives reside?" Seventy-three percent (11 of 15) of respondents indicated they have relatives who reside in *Nigeria,* thirteen percent (2 of 15) of respondents reported they have relatives who live in *Ghana,* seven percent (1 of 15) of respondents reported they have relatives who live in *Cameroon,* and seven percent (1 of 15) or respondents indicated they have relatives who live in *multiple countries*. It was not surprising to see that most respondents' family members were hailed from Nigeria. Most of the respondents in the current study are of Nigerian descent. Furthermore, Nigeria is one of

three top birthplaces (Ethiopia is 2nd, Egypt is 3rd) for African immigrants in the United States with Ghana behind in fourth place (Anderson 2017).

Transnationalism is a concept that has been around for centuries. Scholars have recognized that immigrants will maintain some type of contact with family members and loved ones through correspondence and the sending of remittances (Vertovec 2010). As time has progressed, the practices of transnationalism have developed. In contemporary times, immigrants can "hop on a plane or make a phone call to find out how things are going at home" (Foner 2005). So, when respondents were asked the question, "How often do you connect with your family members in _____? (via phone, social media, email)" different responses were indicated. Thirteen percent (2 of 15) of respondents stated that they connect with their family members in Africa *very often,* forty-seven percent (7 of 15) of respondents stated that they connect with their family in Africa *sometimes,* twenty-seven percent (4 of 15) of respondents stated that they *rarely* connect with their family members in Africa, and thirteen percent (2 of 15) respondents stated that they *never* connect with family members in Africa.

Furthermore, respondents were asked the question, "How often do you send money to your family members in _____?" different responses were indicated.

- Seven percent (1 of 15) of respondents stated that they *always* send money to family members in Africa.
- Seven percent (1 of 15) of respondents stated that they send money *very often* to their family members in Africa.
- Twenty-six percent (4 of 15) of respondents stated that they *sometimes* send money to their family members in Africa.
- Seven percent (1 of 15) or respondents stated that they *rarely* send money to their family members in Africa.

- Fifty-three percent (8 of 15) respondents stated that they *never* send money with family members in Africa.

Lastly, respondents asked the question, "How often do you keep up with news and political agendas in _____?" different responses were indicated.

- Seven percent (1 of 15) of respondents stated that they kept up with news and political agendas in Africa *very often.*
- Forty-seven percent (7 of 15) of respondents stated that they kept up with news and political agendas in Africa *sometimes*.
- Thirty-three percent (5 of 15) respondents stated that they *rarely* keep up with news and political agendas in Africa.
- Thirteen percent (2 of 15) respondents stated that they *never* keep up with news and political agendas in Africa.

The findings in the theme, Pilgrimage to Africa, report that most of the respondents in the study did not actively engage in transnational activities. There was a high level of engagement for second-generation African immigrants traveling, visiting, and spending time in Africa. However, there were also low levels of engagement for second-generation African immigrants in the areas of connecting with family members in Africa, sending remittances back to the homeland, and keeping up with new and political agendas in the motherland. The notion that second-generation African immigrants do not actively engage in transnational activities like their parents has been well documented in the migrant literature.

Scholars have argued that efforts for second-generation immigrants to not participate in transnational activities may be due to a variety of psychological distresses (Menjivar 2002) or new typologies to understand transnational relationships (Gowricharn 2009). Regardless of the matter, it is essential to note that transnational

engagement among the second-generation is different from the previous generation. Their participation in transnational activities has evolved and shaped their identities.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS – PART TWO

The previous chapter contends that there were three themes that impacted how second-generation Black immigrants subscribe to Black racial group identification. The first theme that emerged was the family context, which discussed how respondents were socialized in racial and ethnic households. The second theme that emerged was the social context, which described the race relations between African-Americans and African immigrants. The third theme that emerged from the data examined the transnational practices of second-generation Black immigrants. In the current chapter, I will discuss the remaining two themes that emerged from the data. The fourth theme is the identification process, which examines the respondent's understanding of their own identities as well as imposed identities from their Black counterparts that lead to feelings of shame or guilt. The fifth and final theme discusses racialized experiences. In specific, this section focuses on the racialized experiences of second-generation African immigrants. The study found that respondents experience everyday forms of racism.

The Identification Process

The identification process was the fourth theme found in the data. Second-generation immigrants have a different life experience that differs from their parents. In particular, these individuals are "full-fledged members of the host society with outlooks and plans of their own" (Portes and Rivas 2011:220). Furthermore, they are individuals who can embrace several identities that are not just fluid but can change depending on

the circumstance. For example, when respondents were asked the question, “In terms of your racial and ethnic identity, how do you identify, that is what do you call yourself?”

- Seven percent (1 of 15) of respondents identified as *African.*
- Seven percent (1 of 15) of respondents identified as *African-American.*
- Twenty percent (3 of 15) of respondents identified as *Black*
- Twenty percent (3 of 15) of respondents identified as *National origin*
- Forty-six percent (7 of 15) of respondents identified as *Other*.

Furthermore, when they were asked the question, “How important is this identity to you, which is what do you call yourself?”

- Thirteen percent (2 of 15) of respondents reported that their identity is *not important.*
- Forty percent (6 of 15) of respondents reported that their identity is *somewhat important*.
- Forty-seven percent (7 of 15) of respondents reported that their identity is *very important.*

A significant finding in the identification process section was how second-generation Black immigrants identified. Most respondents identified as *Other*. This *other* category is composed of three distinct identities: an ethnic-hyphenated identity, a tribal identity, or a generational status. In some sense, this *other* category is based on multiple identities where respondents embrace them as a particular identity. They are aware of their Black phenotypic traits and how they are considered Black by others. However, they include their ethnic identities as background because of the strong ties to their parents’ national origins and/or they emphasize their birthplace of America as defining their identity.

More generally, when examining the identification context of second-generation Black immigrants, several respondents responded to the question, “Please tell me why

you identify the way you do." Natasha, who identified as *African*, stated "I can relate to the African part of my self and the American. The term African-American fits perfectly." Monet, who identified as *African-American*, stated, "I call myself African-American simply because I was born and raised in the United States." Taylor, who identified as *Black*, stated: "I do not have a relationship with my father or any of my Nigerian family, I was never taught the culture so I will not claim anything I don't know about." Cheri, who identifies as *Black*, states, "I think "Black" encapsulates all people of the diaspora." Nessa, who identifies as *Black,* echoes a sentiment similar to that of Cheri when she says, "I consider myself black, because you can be black in both Africa and America."

Other sentiments by respondents who identified based on *national origin* identity included:

> Valarie, who identifies as *Nigerian*, stated: Being Nigerian is what makes me unique, it is part of my culture, and it is the nationality that identify with.
>
> Niyah, who identifies as *Nigerian*, stated: I believe that my heritage is very important. It's who I am, and I am proud to identify myself as Nigerian.
>
> Sarah, who identifies as *Nigerian,* stated: I identify as Nigerian because I am very proud of where you I come from. Many African Americans do not have the privilege to know where they're from. I am honored and proud to know that I am Nigerian!! Naija no dey carry last!!!!

In the preceding quotes, Valarie and Niyah assert that being Nigerian represents distinction. They express their identities with a sense of pride and honor. Sarah, similarly, address the same assertions. However, she takes it a step further when talks about the "privilege" of knowing where she comes from in comparison to her Black American counterparts. For these three respondents, they see their Nigerian identity as a

positive attribute. These individuals have direct ties to the continent of Africa. Furthermore, their identity is used as way of not integrating into mainstream society.

More so, other statements were told by respondents who identified based on an *Other* identity:

> Abbigail, who identifies as *Ghanaian-American*, stated: I identify as Ghanaian-American because I am Ghanaian, but I was born in America. I feel like it is important to acknowledge where I come from. Some people are not aware of where their ancestors come from. I see it as a blessing.
>
> Christine, who identifies as *Nigerian-American*, stated: In terms of my black experience in the United States, the best summation of an identity that describes how I see myself in this nation is Nigerian-American. I say this because in one way or another, I know that another 2nd gen immigrant will understand what this label means and there is solidarity and solace in knowing that.

In the previous comments, both Abbigail and Christine share similar sentiments about their *other* identity. Respective to their parent's place of birth, Abbigail and Christine maintain an ethnic identity first, followed by hyphenated American identity that emphasizes their place of birth. For Abbigail, this identity recognizes and honors her Ghanaian ancestors. For Christine, identifying as Nigerian-American represents unison and support for other second-generation Black immigrants who may grapple with the issues of race and identity in a dominant, mainstream society.

> Nola, who identifies as *Nigerian-American*, stated: I identify as Nigerian-American because I feel a strong connection to being both a Nigerian (through my parents) and being born in America. It is difficult for me to be one without the other.

Nola's comments reveal the same beliefs that were previously mentioned by Abbigail and Christine. Nola maintains an ethnic identity first. This pays homage to her parent's place of origin. Second, her identity is followed by a hyphenated American

identity, recognizing her own birthplace. However, what is special about Nola's identity is that she asserts a connectedness between her ethnic identity and hyphenated American identity.

> Samantha, who identifies as *1st Gen American of Nigerian Heritage*, stated: It's the most authentic way to describe myself. I usually refer to those typically labeled as "African-Americans" as "black Americans." I reserve the "African" for people like myself who have recent and less removed connections to the African culture. Not for possessive or derogatory reasons. It is what sounds and feels most accurate and authentic.

Samantha's identity is different from previous respondents who identified as *other*. How Samantha identifies is based on a series of labels. The first label, *1st Gen American*, infers of her status as an authentic, birthed citizen of America. The second label, *Nigerian Heritage*, details her ethnicity and affiliations to country of Nigeria. These labels also emphasize how differently she views herself in comparison to Black Americans and other Black immigrant groups. The terms "Black Americans" and "African-American" are synonymous and have been appointed to a Black racial identity, while the term "African" refers to an ethnic identity. Based on her *other* identity, it provides her a sense of comfort and authenticity to be labeled as such.

> Oakley, who identifies as *Igbo*, stated: Race is a social construct. Everybody of the same skin color is not of the same ethnicity. People have difference cultures and history as well as migration patterns. So called race is biologically determined by your father. Everybody is the seed of their father.

Oakley's identity is also different from previous respondents who identified as *other*. His identity is based on tribal affiliations. Also, Oakley understands the conceptualizations of race and ethnicity in America. He is able to differentiates the two concepts. In essence, this alludes-to him suggesting that even though Black Americans

and Black immigrants share the phenotypic traits, they do not share the same ancestry. Interestingly, Oakley believes that not just your race, but your identity is determined by their father. Based on this observation, it can be concluded that Oakley is the seed of his father because his race and identity was dependent on his father's racial and ethnic background.

More generally, when examining the identification process, second-generation Black immigrants were asked to provide an example of what led them to identify as such. The forthcoming statements are from respondents who answered *somewhat important* or *very important* in reference to how important their identity is to them. When asked the question "Please tell me why you identify the way you do" several respondents provided an explanation. Valarie stated, "my upbringing and culture - food, traditional wear, customs, language, trips to Nigeria." Abbigail states, "my family and their emphasis on where we come from led me to this identity." Oakley echoes a similar when he stated, "once I learned about history and how the conventional race categories came to be, I decided to learn about my ethnic tribe." Cheri noted that she "learned the meaning behind the term "Black" when I was studying in college." Other statements by respondents included:

> Christine: Growing up in a town where other black Americans did not want to befriend me. My mother's experience of coming to the US and being made to feel isolated by other black people yet welcomed by white people. Constantly being asked why I sounded "white". Being called an "African booty scratcher" by other black Americans. Understanding my heritage and ancestry.

Christine's explanation of why she identifies as other -- Nigerian-American, indicates several interesting things. First, her mother's arrival to the United States was

not a grand experience. Once settled, Black Americans perpetuated an *anti-black* frame (Feagin 2013) to her mother. They shunned her by treating her like the member of an outgroup. However, her mother found solace with whites. Years later, the same *anti-black frame* will be perpetuated toward Christine. Black Americans rejected her friendship. Although she shares phenotypic traits with Black Americans, they believe she was inferior to them. Also, they demoralized, shunned and ridiculed her with ethnic slurs. Based on these experiences, it led to her taking a more direct route of understanding who she is and where she comes from.

> Nola: I have always identified as being African-American, but as I've gotten older, I feel that "African-American" is too broad of a term to group all of the different nationalities within the African continent. From this, I have decided to call out my Nigerian heritage when identifying myself.

As a brief reminder, Nola identifies as Nigerian-American. Her explanation suggests that being identified under a monolithic group like African-American does not take into account of the unique and ethnical differences between other Black immigrant groups from Africa. As such, she separates those ethnic differences by accenting her Nigerian heritage.

> Natasha: I have other black friends who cannot relate to the term African-American b/c they do not connect with the African part of the title. I however fully relate to both, so the term fits perfectly.

Natasha's explanation of why she identifies as African-American, is an indication of the relational ties she has to Africa. Unlike her Black American counterparts, who do not have the accessibility of tracing their ancestral lineage, she expresses an intimate knowledge of her African heritage.

> Niyah: As a 2nd generation individual, it is possible to lose the customs and the culture because we are so used to the life that we live here in the United States. For example, I eat mostly American food, I only speak English, and most of my friends are American. Despite all of this, I think that it's very important to hold on to my heritage. Even though I was born in America, I still have Nigerian customs instilled in me. For example, when I compare my upbringing to my friends' there are noticeable differences. When people see my last name, they are always surprised. They always say, "you don't look Nigerian!" This makes me feel like it's important to let people know that I am Nigerian. This is what led me to identify this way.

Niyah is a strong custodian of her Nigerian heritage. She takes pride in the traditions and customs that parents have instilled in her. However, as a second-generation Black immigrant, she realizes that Nigerian identity is also associated with the customs and cultures of America. She does not speak her parents' native tongue. She only speaks English and mostly eats American food. Also, note the relationship between Niyah and her friends. They strip her of her Nigerian identity and imposed a Black racial identity. Based on the testimony of Niyah, it is clear to see why she identify as such.

> Nessa: Kids in school used to accuse me of not being black enough, so I would tell them that I wasn't black. I stopped identifying with black, and more with African-American, because I truly was both. But one day, I told my mom I wasn't black (as in Black American) and she was like look at you, you're black, I'm black, people in Africa are black. This led me to view my identity with more of a panafrican lens.

In Nessa's comments, notice the relationship between her and other students in school. The accusations of "not being black enough" led to her choosing an identity that did not align with the Black racial group. However, there is a shift in Nessa' identity after the dialogue exchange between her and her mother. Her mother reaffirms that she is black as well the people in Africa are black. This shift has led to Nessa acclimating an

identity that incorporates a Black racial identity from the United States and a Black racial identity from the continent of Africa.

> Samantha: The stereotypes associated with "Black Americans" and the stereotypes associated with people like myself- people with recent and traceable African heritage- do not often align. Yes, I am physically Black, but I feel very removed from the traditional black American culture good and bad. This identity was the only way I know how to account from that.

Samantha's explanations about her identity are based on the tensions between Black Americans and Black immigrants. Samantha recognizes and understands her continental ties to Africa. Furthermore, she is also aware that skin color reveals to others that she will identity based on a Black racial identity. However, she does not feel connected to her Black counterparts. With a Black racial identity, she knows that prejudices and stereotypes will come too. Therefore, in order to not be a part of those afflictions, Samantha has distanced herself and identities as other.

> Monet: When I was younger, I knew I was Nigerian and was always around an African community but at that time I didn't really connect with that part of my identity. Secondly, because I do not have a typical African name people always assumed that I was black/ African American, so I went along with it for majority of my life.

Monet echoes a similar sentiment as Samantha. However, there are differences. Like Samantha, Monet is aware of her continental ties to Africa. However, for Monet, she was raised in a community where there were constant interactions with other Nigerians. Even with her continental ties and interactions with the community, Monet does not have an attachment to her ethnic identity. She also alludes-to not having an African name and others presuming that she was just Black is the reason why she identifies with the Black racial group.

> Sarah: My parents were a main factor in my understanding of where I come from and how I came to identify myself! Since I was a child my parents instilled in my siblings and I the culture, the language, and the food.

Based on Sarah's commentary, the cultural norms and traditions that were instilled to her and her siblings by her parents, is the reason why she identifies as Nigerian.

> Taylor: I was raised my mother and her family being Black is all I know. The resentment of not having my father in my life created me to be ashamed to be called African. I never tell people I'm African unless they ask about my last name, and even then, I say my father is African. I never say I'm African.

Taylor's comments express an interesting discovery. Taylor knows that she has continental ties to the Africa. She knows that she is of African descent. However, she deliberately rejects her affiliations to the homeland because of the relationship she has with her father. To understand this social behavior, Affect Control Theory proposes that "people try to maintain meanings associated with the entire situation—their own identities, the identities of others, actions and behavior settings" (Smith-Lovin 1979; as cited by Owens, Robinson, & Smith-Lovin 2010) (p. 487). The acrimonious relationship between Taylor and her father has caused a "disturbance so great that affective values cannot be brought into line with one another without changing the identity" (Stryker 2008:21-22). Although she does not tell us about this resentment she has toward her father, it can be implied that the relationship is detrimental enough for her to perpetuate an anti-other or anti-African frame.

Imposed Identities

Respondents in the study also answered several questions about their Black counterparts questioning their identity. When asked the question, "In terms of your racial or ethnic identity, how do you think African-Americans identify you?"

- Forty percent (6 of 15) of respondents believed that African-Americans identified them as *African-American*.
- Thirty-three percent (5 of 15) of respondents believed that African-Americans identified them as *Black.*
- Seven percent (1 of 15) of respondents believed that African-Americans identified them on a *national origin* identity.
- Twenty percent (3 of 15) of respondents believed that African-Americans identified them as *other*.

Based on these findings, it suggests that an *imposed identity* has been placed on second-generation African immigrants. Specifically, they are identified as *African-Americans* (Africans who live in America) rather than Black "African-Americans." This is also an indication to second-generation African immigrants that they will have an identity imposed on them no matter how they identify themselves.

Respondents were also asked, "How important is the identity African-Americans call you?"

- Fifty-three-point-three percent (8 of 15) indicated that the identity African-Americans called the respondents were *not important.*
- Thirty-three-point-three percent (5 of 15) indicated that the identity African-Americans called the respondents were *somewhat important.*
- Thirteen-point-three percent (2 of 15) suggested that the identity African-Americans called the respondents was *very important*.

Based on these findings, it indicates that the imposed identity was not crucial to second-generation African immigrants. Additionally, respondents were able to provide feedback on their imposed identity from African-Americans. When asked the question,

"Tell me why you believe African-Americans identify you as such," several respondents explained:

> Valarie: I was raised in America but in a Nigerian household, and thus display and exhibit both cultures.

Valarie was a socialized in a Nigerian household. Therefore, she was surrounded in a culture that was not native to her parent's homeland. However, she was able to adapt to the mainstream culture. Based on her response, Valarie believes that African-Americans have imposed an *other* identity because of her ability to negotiate multiple identities.

> Niyah: I believe African Americans identify me the way that they do because they tend to have a stereotype in their minds of what Africans should look like or how they should act. They don't see me as fitting into that category, so they identify me as African-American.

Niyah's response is interesting. She asserts that her Black American counterparts have stereotypes (racial images) about how Africans look and how they act. It can be assumed that Niyah believes that Black Americans operate out of a white, dominant frame. However, she infers that her counterparts do not portray her in those racialized images. Based on this observation, I surmise that African Americans view Niyah as an exception to the rule.

> Abbigail: I believe they identify me as such because of my skin color and the way I behave sometimes.

Based on Abbigail's response, she asserts that her Black American counterparts have identified her as African-American based on phenotypic characteristics and behavioral traits. Furthermore, her counterparts they have ignored her Ghanaian-American identity and have categorized her to the Black racial group.

Sarah: I have made it known that I am Nigerian and am proud to be Nigerian.

Based on Sarah's response, she emphasizes her Nigerian identity. However, it also infers that her African-Americans counterparts recognize and adhere to Sarah's Nigerian identity.

> Taylor: The way I look is how they identify me. I look like a black woman, so they assume I'm fully black and I don't stop them from assuming that because that's what I want.

Taylor affirms that she is a Black woman based on her physical appearance. Also, she affirms that her Black American counterparts have categorized her based on a racial identity. However, what is interesting about Taylor's response is that even if her Black American counterparts did not identify as her Black, she would want to be identified as Black. Identity Control Theory provides a way of understanding Taylor's behavior and identity. According to the Burke & Reitzes (1991), Identity Control Theory "is a *continuously operating, self-adjusting,* feedback loop: individuals continually adjust behavior to keep their reflected appraisals congruent with their identity standards or references" (p. 840, emphasis in the original) (as cited by Owens, Robinson, & Smith-Lovin 2010) (p. 484). Although Taylor is aware of her African descent, she views herself as Black and responds to being identified as Black by others. Based on this observation, it can be assumed that Taylor has distanced herself from other second-generation Black immigrants.

Further examining the identification process, second-generation Black immigrants were asked to provide an example or examples of what led them to believing

these imposed identities from African-Americans. Several respondents provided their explanation:

> Valarie: that "my last name is Nigerian and is a major example. It's not a typical American last name, so when most AA realize that they immediately classify me as being Nigerian but also American.

Notice how Valarie places an emphasis on her Nigerian last name. This is a prime indication of how she identifies as Nigerian. Because her last name is not your average, mainstream American name, African Americans know that she negotiates multiple identities.

> Abbigail: I don't really tell people I am Ghanaian-American until we have multiple encounters. Some African-Americans tell me they knew I was Ghanaian-American before I told them because I have an "accent" (I don't think I have an accent).

Notice how Abbigail hides her identity. She only feels comfortable sharing her identity after she has had several meetings with people. Furthermore, due to her "accent" that she insistent she does not have, African Americans have imposed a Black racial identity towards her.

> Monet: Many including Africans tell me that I do not "look" Nigerian and I do not have a typical Nigerian name because my grandfather was Scottish.

Notice how Monet carefully emphasizes the "many" groups that have imposed an identity against her. This statement implies that this is a common occurrence for her. Furthermore, the imposed identity that has been bestowed upon Monet is a derivative of not looking Nigerian or having a standardized Nigerian name due to her grandfather being Scottish. Based on Monet's response, it can be assumed that these occurrences will continue to happen.

> Taylor: African American always talked about my skin complexion. I was never called mean African names because no one knows I'm African.

Taylor asserts her imposed identity from African Americans as result of her skin. Furthermore, notice how Taylor "hides" her African identity. It can be suggested that she does not want to be associated with Africans, therefore, she is performing anti-other frame. Based on this performance, she keeps her identity hidden, which also allows her to avoid derogatory and ethnic slurs.

Shame?

In addition to the imposed identities placed on second-generation African immigrants, a few respondents also discussed how they would change the way they identify themselves or how they were ashamed of their identity. When asked the question, "When people ask about your race or ethnicity, do you ever change the way you respond to them, or do you always say the same thing?"

- Eighty percent (12 of 15) of respondents indicated *yes, my response is the same*
- Twenty percent (3 of 15) or respondents indicated *no, my response may vary*.

Furthermore, second-generation Black immigrants who indicated that their response may vary when they were asked about their race or ethnicity, were also asked to provide an example or examples of when this occurrence would happen. Christine, Nola, and Abbigail provided their explanations:

> Christine: Usually it's a subconscious thing. Generally, I will make sure people know that I'm Nigerian/Nigerian-American. Other times, especially in reference to the struggles of black people in this country in general, I will refer to myself as black people in instances like that, that's how I would be seen as in the eyes of the perpetrator/oppressor.

> Nola: If I am speaking to a White person or in a predominantly White group, I may just identify as "African-American". If I am around other people whom I perceived to be African, I will identify as "Nigerian" solely (instead of Nigerian-American).
>
> Abbigail: My response changes if I believe I will never encounter that person again during my lifetime.

In the findings above, the respondents attested to similar accounts. First, notice the fluidity of Christine's identity. In her day-to-day interactions, she will identify as Nigerian, Nigerian-American. However, to combat racial oppression and discrimination, her identity shifts to Black racial identity. For, Christine, these actions are intuitive. Nola address similar points as Christine. Notice the fluidity in Nola's identity when conversing with members of the dominant, White group. She will identify herself as African-American. However, for other members, specifically Black immigrant groups, she identifies as Nigerian. For Nola, these actions tend to be strategic. Yet, in the case of Abbigail, her identity only changes if there are not further interactions with people. Based on these findings, it is evident that identities of second-generation Black immigrants are multifaceted.

When asked the question, "How did you determine when to change your response or restate the same thing about your race or ethnicity? Christine, Nola, and Abbigail further explained:

> Christine: Depending on the circumstance.
>
> Nola: I'm more willing to connect and delve into conversations around my identity with people who share the same or a similar identity as me.
>
> Abbigail: I determined this through meeting different people through my grade school education.

Based on the comments of Christine, Nola, and Abbigail, their response will change in different settings. More generally, when asked the question, "Have you ever tried to hide your racial or ethnicity?"

- Sixty percent (9 of 15) of respondents indicated that they have never tried to hide their racial or ethnic identity.
- Forty percent (6 of 15) of respondents reported that they have tried to hide their racial or ethnic identity.

Studies have shown Black immigrants will conceal their identity to escape discrimination or prejudice from Blacks or African-Americans as well as Whites. Therefore, they will disguise their identity by "dressing like African Americans, speaking English without an ethnic accent, and dismissing their ethnicity in order to escape ethnic prejudice and discrimination" (Prosper 2006:5). Scholars have identified this type of strategy as "cover-ups" or "undercover responses" (Stepick 1998; Zephir 2001; Prosper 2006). Several respondents in the current study implemented these strategies. Nola, Natasha, Max, Monet, Sarah, and Taylor have provided their accounts on issues.

> Nola: Being AA, it's difficult to "hide" my racial identity, but there have been times when I was younger that I tried to blend into White dominant culture, and not call attention to my race and identity. In high school, I took honors classes and was often the only black student in my classes. I recall on the first day of school in AP World History, my white, older teacher called my name for the roll and asked, "What tribe are you from?". She had taught for a few years in Africa when she was younger and saw my last name. I was so embarrassed that 1) I had been called out on the first day of class, and 2) that I couldn't respond because I didn't know what tribe my parents were from. I told her I was born in Dallas, and she persisted by asking me to ask my parents about their tribe when I got home that day.

Nola's comments offer a rare glimpse in the difficulty of concealing one's racial identity. As an African-American, she recognizes that her identity can never truly be

hidden, especially in a society where race is significant. Nonetheless, she makes several attempts to do so. One attempt is by her taking honor classes. This attempt presents two aspects: 1) Nola's identity has become a model minority status. To her classmates, she is not viewed like other African Americans. She is one of the "good ones" and 2) Since she is the only Black student in her classes, she will not be hidden amongst her White counterparts.

As a result of this, her attempt to integrate into the dominant group is not really successful. Furthermore, notice the interactions between Nola and her teacher. When the teacher saw her last name, immediately, she imposes a tribal identity upon Nola. Although Nola rejects this imposed identity, the teacher chastises her for not knowing where she is from. In essence, the teacher was performing out a dominant frame that displayed arrogance and all-knowing. Based on Nola's comments, we able to understand why Black immigrants implement strategies to conceal their identities.

> Natasha: As a teenager growing up in a predominately white area, I just wanted to fit in. I definitely hid my ethnic identity numerous of times. I also felt disconnected to my African side and didn't really understand that part of me until I was older.

The response from Natasha indicates a couple of things. First, notice her environment. She was in nurtured in predominately white setting that did not have people who looked like her. Next, based on her environment, she felt the need to adapt to their white culture and practices. Also, because of the lack of Black representation in her environment, there was a separation of African identity. Based on these several factors, this resulted in Natasha feeling shamed and hiding her ethnicity from others.

> Max: Most definitely lol. When you're getting called an African Booth [Booty] scratcher in the 5th grade you tend to try and dissociate with the culture. There's been countless times where I would just identify as black just to fit in. In high school no would suspect I'm anything but black until they looked at my last name… and even than they'd assume something ludicrous like Asian (my last name is _____ - add _____ to anything and apparently its Asians). During the error of bins when that "Kill a Goat" with the 'About a week ago beat' – Bobby Schmurder video dropped those who knew I was Africans automatically glanced at me. Small micro aggressions like that made me subconsciously identify as a different ethnicity to save myself from ridicule.

The commentary from Max reveals numerous things. First, he was experiencing discrimination relatively early in his life. In his early years of attending school, he was called an ethnic slur by his Black counterparts. The phrase "African Booty Scratcher" is a typical go-to derogatory and disparaging ethnic slur that Black immigrants are called from Black Americans. Therefore, it can be suggested that this term invoked an anti-other frame from Black Americans, which caused Max to his separate to separate himself from Black Americans and vice versa. Second, look at the environment. The times where Max has felt shame in his identity was in the school setting.

For Black immigrants, school is often a challenging time because this is where they experience most of their racialized events. As he matriculated to high school, we notice a change in discriminatory acts. He started to experience microaggression incidents that involved having an imposed Asian identity instilled upon him as well as being compared to other Black immigrants in a video that depicted cultural insensitivities. Based on these observations, we can understand how and why the shifting of Max's identity was normal. More importantly, it shows why it led to the hiding of Max's identity.

> Monet: When I was younger, my mother used to write my initials on all my school materials. Classmates would ask me what my school initial stood for and I would lie and say it was "Isabella" when it was really a Nigerian name. It took me years to tell my close friends what is was because I did not want to explain that "other part of me" or people to make fun/mispronounce it.

In her commentary, Monet offers a brief account to how she hid her identity. First, notice the setting that she is in. Similar to Max's testimony, Monet concealed her identity to her classmates at school when they would ask her about the initials on her materials. Next, notice how she talks about herself. She recognizes that her identity involves more than just being categorized to a Black racial group. She also has an ethnic identity. Therefore, in fear of having to explain her multi-layered identity or be exposed to anti-other sentiments from her classmates, she fabricates the meaning of her initials. In performing this action, she has adapted to the dominant society by presenting a name that is more appealing and acceptable. Furthermore, it allows her to keep anonymity of her multi-faceted identity.

> Sarah: As a child you sometimes hide especially in middle school. Now I never hide.

Notice in Sarah's comment, we see the institution of school being introduced again. Like the previous comments made by Max and Monet, Sarah concealed her identity in school. Also, it can be implied that she concealed her identity in fear of being ridicule or belittled by her others. However, a different in Sarah's account is that she does not hide her identity any longer. It could also be implied that as she has become mature, she has become content about who she is.

> Taylor: All through grade school I hide my ethnicity the only people who knew I was African were my closet friends. Every year I would get a new teacher and she would call the names down the role and when they to my name and ask the

> pronunciation of my last name, I use to always tell them to call my mother's Maiden name which is _____. I would never tell my teachers in class full of kids that I was African.

In Taylor's comment, we see how she hid her race. By rejecting her father's last name and informing teachers to call her by her mother's maiden name, Taylor continues to perpetuate an anti-Black framing that being African is an inferior identity.

Racialized Experiences

The current section is the last theme found in this study. It involves data regarding the racialized experiences of second-generation African immigrants. The experiences of racism and discrimination regarding second-generation African immigrants continue to be scant in the social science literature. In the current study, respondents have experienced different forms of racism and discrimination. The accounts here have been obtained from various questions on the survey and later probed on the follow-up interviews with several respondents. Starting with the Qualtrics survey, when asked the question, "Have you ever experienced any racial or ethnic discrimination?"

- 13% (2 of 15) of respondents answered 'no' to this question.

One of the respondents, Oakley, who said 'no' responded "not to my knowledge. I've been the object of racial/ethnic prejudice. There are just too many instances where this applies for me to mention." In this instance, Oakley does not provide an example of his statements regarding racial/ethnic prejudice. Although his response is unclear to what types of prejudices he has faced, it is assumed that Oakley believes those events were

not discriminatory. However, it is essential to note that prejudices are a form of discrimination.

The remaining thirteen respondents answered the question and described their accounts of experiencing discrimination based on race or ethnicity. The first several accounts below are from respondents who state they have experienced discrimination based on race:

> Christine: Not so much ethnic, but racial. In 5th grade during a team reading collaboration with the kindergarteners at my school, I was reading to my partner, who was young Mexican girl, when she said, "I don't like Black people." In that moment, I didn't really react because I didn't know what to do so I paused in shock and continued reading the story until it was time to go. I never told any of the teachers what happened though that is an event I will never forget.

In Christine's account, she knows that her experience is based on a racial identity. The young Mexican girl retorted the words "I don't like black people." It can be inferred that she was operating out of an anti-other subframe. She was utilizing this frame to label Christine as inferior to her. Also, notice Christine's emotions and response to this interaction. Emotionally, she was uncomfortable. However, in that moment, she compartmentalized the issue. Based on Christine's response, I assumed she never mentioned the incident to the teacher due to her emotional state.

> Nessa: Yeah, I guess I've had a handful of those. I think probably the most memorable was when I was little and some girl in my class said I couldn't pretend to be a PowerPuff Girl because I was black. Luckily, my teacher was black and so I told on the girl and got reassurance from my teacher that I could be whatever I wanted to be.

Nessa's discriminatory experience was based on a racial identity. In this interaction, we witness the little girl operating from a dominant frame. The little girl made it known to Nessa that he status of being Black was subordinate. In other words,

Nessa could not be a superhero. It can also be inferred that framing was learned from somewhere, preferably from whites. This means she understand her privilege. Although the horrible incident occurred, it ended with a positive resolution of Nessa being reaffirmed by her Black teacher that regardless of her identity, she could be that superhero she wanted to be.

> Niyah: I have experienced racial discrimination. One incident that stands out took place at a mall. I located a purse online that I wanted and went to the purchase it in store. When I entered the store, I was completely ignored while the 2 store associates were having a casual conversation with each other. I didn't immediately see what I was looking for, so I approached the associates. Without even looking at me one of them put their hand up to signal "hold on." A sat there waiting for a few minutes, and all of a sudden, a Caucasian male walked in. Both associates immediately greeted him and walked over to him asking what they could help with him. I looked at one of the associates in the eye, shook my head, and left the store.

Niyah's discriminatory experience is a little different from the previous two accounts. In this setting, we see the dominant framing perpetuated by two individuals as opposed to one. Notice how the two sales associates ignore her entry upon entering the store. Their lack of interest in Niyah indicates that they do not value her as patron in their establishment. They view her as subordinate. It can also be assumed that the employees believe Niyah can't afford the items in the store. This further perpetuates the stereotype of Black people not having money to buy expensive things. Also notice how the preferential treatment they gave to the Caucasian male as opposed Niyah. Continuing to treat Niyah as less than, dominant frame is perpetuated through arrogance and white virtuousness. Niyah was given "the hand" while the white man was greeted the man. Based on this event, Niyah was discriminated against based on a racial identity.

Furthermore, in the next set of accounts, we will hear from respondents who replied to the same question by discussing how they have experienced discrimination based on an ethnicity:

> Cheri: People mispronounce my name – my name is literally 5 letters and 2 syllables. It's not that difficult, so I take the callous pronunciation of my name as a sign of discrimination.

Cheri's account rather interesting. First, it is important to note that she identity as Black. Next, regarding the context of her name, it comes for the native tongue of Nigeria. However, the experience that Cheri is describing refers to an insensitive bias that implies that her name is hard to pronounce. When people fail to pronounce her name correctly, it is a disregard to her culture and identity.

> Martha: Yes, I have been called the n word once but that had nothing to do with me being African, the person was just racist in general.

> Max: In Austin, roaming the streets with a coworker we were approached by a homeless lady that was spitting all kinds of racial obscenities (n-word). Granted she was probably on drugs, my co-worked who is African American took great offense to it. I was indifferent & did not pay no mind to the lady. We got our Mediterranean bowls and went about our day. But looking back I do question why I was not vigorously offended by the slurs.

The responses described by both Martha and Max are interesting for several reasons. First, both Martha and Max, identify as 'other' in terms of race and ethnicity. Specifically, Martha tells people that she's "technically" African American, but since both of her parents are Ghanaian immigrants, she identifies more as African than African American. Max, on the other hand, identifies as Nigerian-American. Next, their statements are classified as ethnic discrimination. However, there is a separation or a social distancing of their identity from their black counterparts. Martha believes that

being called the n-word was not based on her 'other' identity; rather, the person was just racist. For Max, he did not take offense to being called the n-word, rather he was indifferent. Lastly, but most importantly, although it is not directly stated, in both of these responses, what we are witnessing is an "expression of racial hostility and discrimination by whites" (Feagin 2013:133). In both of these accounts, Martha and Max were settings where they were confronted by racial epithets (the n-word) being hurled by white people.

Another example of racial and ethnic experiences regarding discrimination was found in several follow up interviews. The follow-up interviews that took place with several respondents echo similar sentiments about racial and ethnic experiences of discrimination. In the following quotes, Nola discusses how she experienced discrimination when asked, "What form(s) of racism have you experienced?" She stated the following:

> Nola: I was in 10th grade English. I was in AP English class, and I was the only black person in my AP English class, and I was one of two people of color. The other person of color was a Samoan, man, or kid, boy. And umm I've experienced a couple of racialized racism, instances of racism in this class, but one in particular…It was Black History Month, and we're reading poems from Langston Hughes. And he asked someone to volunteer to read a specific poem from Langston Hughes in a black Southern slave accent. And I just knew, based on my previous interactions of this class, that he was going to call on me because no one was going to volunteer to read this poem in a black Southern slave accent. He did proceed to call on me to read it in black Southern slave accent. I told him I don't know what that was, and that I wasn't going to read that in black Southern slave accent, I can read it in my own voice. And I started to read it in my own voice, and he stopped me and it's like "Nobody's gonna make a white man do it." So, he proceeded to read this poem in what he perceived to be a black Southern accent.

Nola's testimony illustrates several things. First, she indicates that her teacher has created an environment for other whites to feel empowered while students of color feel inferior. This provides a hierarchy of white virtue, privilege, and power. Next, notice how the teacher utilizes a white racial frame by imposing a gendered racist character (Feagin 2013:105) of a black Southern slave with an accent. In this negative, stereotypical portrayal of a black Southern slave, the teacher has demoted her status from a black student to a slave-imposed status. As a result, these ideas will continue to be perpetuated through this dominant frame.

Another respondent, Monet, discussed her experiences regarding the form(s) of racism she has experienced. Before answering the initial question, Monet believed that she has experienced forms of prejudices and not racism. Unlike Max, who did not explain being the object of racial/ethnic prejudices, Monet stated the following:

> Monet: I guess like prejudice would be like one experience that I had was at work and my supervisor was just like surprised. Even with like the other black people I worked with, they were just surprise, about like, the way that like I carried myself, and so like some of the comments that she made were like, "Oh, like when I spoke to you on the phone, like I didn't know, like, I didn't think that you were, you know, African American and like you spoke really well." And I was like, "I don't know what that means." You know, like I didn't, I didn't think that you know, again, like that was a white or black thing. I think it just depended on how you speak, how you're raised, you know where you grew up.

Monet continues to describe her testimony:

> And then another thing that she told me were like, "Oh, like you know you dress really well like, compared to like the others." The others, I don't know who she was referring to, but she was like, "You know, I, ummm, was like I was very surprised." And like again, what does that mean? Because it doesn't matter or it shouldn't matter what, like what you look like. I mean, it's wishful thinking to think that even though it's not realistic, but it shouldn't matter what you look like. It should be based on individual things. But to begin to compare one to like other like African American people that she wanted to hire, like with work, made me

> feel like I don't know. Like I didn't know whether it was like a backhanded compliment or like whether to take it or whether to like, you know, be appreciative of it because it seemed like. I don't know. it seemed like it was ungenuine. It was like "well, if you didn't fit that you know, idea of what I think like a black person should look like then you'd never have been put in this position.

Again, we can witness another dimension of the dominant racial frame. In this particular incident, the dominant frame has been perpetuated by a white woman exhibiting a negative racial framing that views Monet as illiterate or unkempt before being hired for the job. It is only after that Monet is hired; her supervisor disassociates her from other African Americans. Based on Monet and her supervisor's interactions, it is evident that she will continue to be a victim of racialized stereotypes and biases.

Racialized School Experiences

Starting with the survey, when asked the question, “Have you ever experienced any racial or ethnic discrimination in school?” three respondents indicated a definite answer of ‘no’ to this question. However, several other respondents provided ambiguous responses to this question:

> Christine: Not overtly enough for me to tell…either that or I had normalized behavior that in retrospect may have been problematic.
>
> Martha: No, I went to a small and very liberal all-girls school, racism wasn’t tolerated or anything I’d ever directly experience. I guess when I was younger before switching to the all-girls school, I had classmates say that my food smelled funny and it’s definitely because it wasn’t American food.
>
> Oakley: Not to my knowledge. Nothing I can actually prove.
>
> Max: Cannot say I have experienced blatant racial discrimination in schools. Though I’m sure there were some forms of microaggressions that I didn’t pick up on. Being turned from Panhellenic frat/soro parties & tailgates would be the closest I could imagine but that isn’t always due to discrimination.

I categorized the comments of Christine, Martha, Oakley, and Max ambiguous for one distinct reason: None of the respondents could distinctively say whether they experienced discrimination in school. I found this very finding very confusing. However, the more I read their comments, it led me to believe that maybe that these individuals truly did have a racialized event but had become numb to their experiences or didn't perceive it at the time. For instance, reading Christine and Max's comment, I noticed that both of them contemplated whether they have experienced discrimination in school. However, recognizing that their experiences was not readily visible, they both revealed a feeling being desensitized to the act.

The downplaying of this incident makes me wonder what other experiences she has become emotionless to. Martha's case is different from the others. Initially, she implies that she had not directly been involved in any discriminatory attacks at school. However, she proceeds to detail an incident that revolved around eating food that was not American. Based on her comments, she did in fact experience discrimination in the school. It can be assumed that her statements are contradictory. Oakley, on the other hand, exerts the same level of uncertainty, but follows up with the statement of not being able to "prove it." Although their comments are contradictory, there is some understanding to it.

Other respondents who answered the question, described their accounts of experiencing discrimination based on race or ethnicity in school:

Sarah: Yes, a boy once told me he wouldn't date me because I was black.

Based on Sarah's remarks, it reveals that she was discriminated based on racial identity.

> Natasha: Yes, I was singled out at _____ university to talk about slavery in the USA and how it affected my family, but it was awkward, and I didn't know what to say because my family is all Nigerian.

Notice the comments made by Natasha. The university she attended bestowed an imposed identity. This action by her university disregarded her identity. Natasha identifies as African-American. Furthermore, her family is from Nigeria. Yet, due to her skin color, her school elected her to talk about slavery in the United States. Based on this observation, her experiences were based on race.

> Monet: Many classmates (particularly black and Africans) have made fun of me / shunned for "speaking white" and not "identifying" or hanging out with black/ African community.

Notice the interactions Monet had with her Blacks and African classmates. Monet was the recipient of racial stereotypes and prejudices. Based on her commentary, it suggests that her experiences were based on racial identity.

> Samantha: In 4th grade I shared I wanted to be the first female president. It was the "dream" I had since k5. I was told by another classmate that I couldn't be president because I was black. I had never considered this before – only that I was a female. My teacher did not correct him. Everything shifted then. In 5th grade I was accused of using "black magic" in a tether ball game. In college it was implied by a fellow athlete that I or possibly just my black counterparts in the school had only been admitted because I/they were black. When I was excluded from these racist remarks it was because I was the "exception to the rule" due to being Nigerian. I'll say that for the most part our (my family's) *perceived* socio economic status diminished or eliminated most of the discrimination that we likely would have faced until after I graduated college and my SES was now visibly lower because I was self-sufficient. I knew what was happening then almost as well as I know it now. Then fast forward 3 years and the recent presidential election unearthed somethings that weren't really all that buried to begin with. I'm still processing this and how it is shaping my narrative.

It was particularly interesting to read about Samantha's experiences of discrimination in the different times of her life. Notice the time period of Samantha's life

when she was in college. As an athlete, she was the subject *racial narratives* by another athlete that infers Samantha and her black counterparts are only the team because of preferential treatment. In this situation, the fellow athlete is alluded-to affirmative action. In addition to being subjected to racial remarks, Samantha also indicates that Nigerian identity provided an avenue for her to become a model minority. The model minority stereotype has been associated with Asian immigrants which presumes that they have "actively worked to resist their racialization through performing ideal American identities…and behaviors associated with the stereotype in response to racism" (Lee, S. J., Park, E., & Wong, J.-H. S 2017:499). In other words, it suggests a discourse that depicts certain minorities in the United States as a monolithic and omnipresent group who achieves success the right way. In Samantha's case, it perpetuates an idea that she does not face or experience discrimination like her black counterparts. As a result, this is an inaccurate description as she has experienced several incidents of racial hostility and discrimination.

Another respondent echoed a similar account in a follow-up interview and said the following:

> Taylor: So, I was the only black girl on my volleyball team. And so, I remember one of my coaches, but this was prior to me getting on the team, she had told one of my friends, she said, "We need uh, we need a middle hitter. And, I need her to be tall and black" and that's when I got recruited to be on the team. And then when I left when I graduated high school, she told me the same thing. You know, I kind of just laughed it off. I was like, "Oh, you know she's trying to be funny," but it's kinda like they, I don't know why I feel like they kind of feel like they're breeding us into sports, and stuff like that. I experienced a lot of ummm, I guess, discrimination in the sports world, because I was always the only black girl on my team.

Taylor's commentary reveals several things. First, Taylor was the only black girl on her volleyball team. In essence, her position on the team was to be token black girl. Next, notice her coach's choice of words when she is searching of a new volleyball player. Words like "tall" and "black" allude-to stereotypical characteristics for Black sport players. Notice how her coach perpetuated the same stereotypical characteristics to Taylor once she graduated. She was wanted Taylor to recruit another "tall and black" player to the team. Furthermore, notice Taylor's comments about her coach wanting to more black players on the team. She felt that her coach is "breeding" black players as if they were animals. Again, we notice her coach associating Black players to the level of animals. She is using an anti-Black stereotyping Black and imaging narrative (Feagin 2013). Based on this observation, Taylor incidents was based on a Black racial identity.

Other experiences from follow up interviews reported by several respondents include:

> Nessa: When I was in elementary school, we would like sing negro spirituals in choir, and it was like me and like one other (black) kid. And then like, literally we're singing songs about like being slaves, but I don't know, it's just like one of those things where like, it couldn't have happened in this era. But at the time I was sure like the teacher was, "Oh, I'm like teaching them about history and yada yada." …we sang like a song. The song was like "jump down, turn around, pick a bale of cotton." Jump dow-…like field songs. Like spirituals. And that wasn't even actually like a spiritual. That literally was just a song about like, being a slave. And we sang, we like performed it in front of like, like for an assembly or something like that…It was just like probably me and maybe…there might have been like three black kids. And so, it's all these white children singing like, songs that like actual enslaved people sang. I don't know. Something about it is just like in hindsight. At the very least, it's like poor optics. But, like, at the moment, like we just weren't. I don't know, I feel like there's an education that you have to have when you have small children doing something like that. And we just didn't have that amount of context for it to be appropriate for little kids to be singing songs about slaves.

Reading Nessa's comments were shocking. However, it revealed some important findings. First, Nessa is aware of the racial climate of today's society. She knows that it would be unacceptable for little black children singing songs about being slaves. Yet, at the time that it happened, she was not aware of this racist act nor did she question the teacher about it. But if we analyze the act in self, it becomes noticeable how the dominant framing reveals itself. The teacher is the authoritative, superior figure (slave master) in the class and Ness and the other black kid are the subservient, inferior group (slaves). Also, notice the racial narrative in the lyrics of song as well as the performance setting. The song implies that slaves should be jovial about picking cotton. Nevertheless, Nessa and others performed this song in front of a group of people. Assuming that this assembly had a room full of white people, the pervasive stereotypes that have been portrayed about African-Americans are now being towards Nessa and other the black child. This is action is damaging to their identity.

In the follow-up interview with Nessa, I was able to probe further regarding this matter and asked the question, "How did you manage or confront this experience?" This was her response:

> Nessa: I honestly, like it didn't even occur to me until like a couple of years. That's the thing is like, there are a lot of experiences that I had when I was younger, that was probably racist, but I never, I don't want to say it didn't click for me. Like, but it didn't click for me in the way that it does now. Like, oh wow, that was really problematic that happened. So, I think, yeah, I thought it was normal.

In the follow-up interview with Nessa, notice her comments about she managed or confronted this experience. She was led to believe that these actions were normalized behavior. She did not question it. It wasn't because she was scared, however, she had

become desensitized to these racialized experiences. The testimonies that were gathered from the survey and the follow-up interview show that second-generation African immigrants experience discrimination based on racial and ethnic identities. Their accounts highlight that schools are an essential institution of racialization as they "teach students about race, racism, and racial positioning through formal policies and practices and through everyday interactions" (Lee, Park, and Wong 2017:492). Furthermore, in the accounts told by respondents who experienced discrimination in school, they were grouped with their black counterparts, in regard to their identity. Therefore, it suggests there is no difference in discrimination when it comes to racial or ethnic identities in schools.

Racialized Workplace Experiences

The survey started with the question, "Have you ever experienced any racial or ethnic discrimination in the workplace?" most of the respondents indicated they had not experienced discrimination in the workplace. However, several other respondents responded to this question:

> Oakley: Yes, but not sure it was exclusively racial. I was denied promotions that were merit based. Me being a black male was just part of the reason. The other part is that I am a straight black male. The homosexual black males were given preferential treatment in this setting.
>
> Samantha: Once again it's been an advantage. People "ooh and ahh" at my work ethic, intelligence, and commitment. That in itself is insulting. –the micro aggression that feels pretty damn macro– I'm expected to do less because I'm black. But unbeknownst to their American eyes I'm Nigerian and therefore shackled to the idea of competence, accomplishment, and admiration. It's like cannot do subpar work and rest. That plus dressing in a way that appears to by "stylish" has meant that I've rarely ever experience blatant or overt racism in my place of work.

> Taylor: It affects me a lot because I could signal…Well, I could say something simply to my manager and he'll automatically assume I'm being aggressive. And he doesn't -When I did work at _____, I think they do that because…I think that they did that because I'm black and I'm a woman so…My manager, he had asked me to go. Well, he didn't ask me. He *told* me to go help a different manager stock, stock the aisles and I said I don't feel comfortable doing that because it's not in my job description, and then he went up to a manager higher than us and told him I was being disrespectful.
>
> Nola: …When it comes to the workplace, I think it really again also depends like what type of field you are in. So, I work in education. I work for an education organization that serves primarily Black and Brown students, and even our organization, we have issues with white supremacy culture, and microaggressions and racism. But as a black woman I think there is like this intersection of being black and being a woman in the workplace. And I feel sometimes, I feel like I'm silenced. Because I'm a woman, or I feel like I'm silenced because I'm a black woman, and I don't want to come across as being angry or too loud or too passionate. And so… I was interviewing for a job, and I thought things were going well, and the hiring manager pulled me aside, and she asked me "How I thought I was doing?" and I said, "I think okay, I'm really excited to meet everyone on this team." And she's like, "Yep, I agree." She's said "The one thing that you know, has come back into the feedback, for you that I think you should work through for your interviews tomorrow is that you have a resting bitchface." and I was like, “Oh!” I was taken aback by that because this was the hiring manager, and she was going to be my manager if I got the job.

There are several things we can see based on the testimony of these responses. First, there is a dominant framing “by white individuals acting to imposed or maintain racial identity, privilege, and dominance vis-à-vis people of color in recurring interactions” (Feagin 2013:14). In the examples of Samantha, Nola, and Taylor, the white frame has allowed white actors to maintain a system of patriarchy or matriarchy power and privilege and view them as inferior and not as hardworking as others. Second, the hierarchy of gender and sexuality play an essential role in the workplace. The theory of intersectionality provides “a way of understanding and analyzing the complexity in the world, in people, and in human experience” (Collins & Bilge 2016:2). Samantha,

Nola, and Taylor inform us about the lack of equity they have received at their places of employment because they are black and women. In Oakley's account, he stated that he did not receive promotions at his job for two reasons: merit-based and him identifying as a heterosexual black male.

The theory of intersectionality also reveals that gender and sexuality in the aforementioned examples contribute to the systems of oppression and discrimination. In other words, "when it comes to social inequality, people's lives and the organization of power in a given society are better understood as being shaped not by a single axis of social division, be it race or gender or class, but by many axes that work together and influence each other" (Collins & Bilge 2016:2). Lastly, there are messages of microaggressions in these examples. The impact of the words and actions experienced by the respondents are what mattered more than the intent behind them. For these respondents, they have been hurt and/or insulted by individuals who do not use awareness or caution nor share the same lived experiences as them. As a result, white framing, intersectionality, and microaggressions will point out the cultural differences between the dominant group and respondents.

Racialized Law Enforcement Experiences

More generally, when asked the question "Have you ever experienced any racial or ethnic discrimination with law enforcement?" several of the respondents indicated "No" or "N/A" that they have not experienced discrimination with law enforcement. However, other respondents provided an explanation to this question:

> Natasha: Yes, when I was 18, I was pulled over for no reason and my car was checked for drugs. I was terrified and I have never touched drugs.

In Natasha's response, we are able to see that her experience was based on a racial identity. She was racially profiled by law enforcement due her skin color. Furthermore, the color of skin alluded-to law enforcement officials searching her car for drugs. In essence, the law enforcement officials were operating out of white framing that implored racial stereotypes of Natasha.

> Samantha: This is a genuine fear of mine. I have not been stopped by law enforcement in a post Sandra Bland or Eric Garner society. I am thankful for that. I have approached law enforcement for directions or help with a minor issue and have not felt threaten or discriminated against. I don't believe it's a coincidence that Each time I've been dressed well.

Samantha's comment offers an interesting perspective. Although she has not been stopped or discriminated against by law enforcement, she infers that the idea of being pulled over is a fear of hers. Notice her choice of words, "post Sandra Bland or Eric Garner society." As we have witnessed countless of time in America, black bodies are policed by law enforcement. Black women and men are the victims of the police. We are assaulted, beaten, and murdered. Therefore, Samantha is suggesting that this behavior has become normalized. However, she does briefly discuss her interactions law enforcement. Although they have been relatively small interactions, she implies that they have been positive interactions.

The follow-up interviews with several respondents provided a more detailed and engaging dialogue regarding law enforcement. When asked, "How do you perceive having a racial identity or ethnic identity affects your interactions with law enforcement?"

> Niyah: I'd say, it's definitely more on edge. We are treated unequal by law enforcement. With all the stories you hear, all the video you see, you know, you

realize we're not treated the same. We're just not. So even if I'm not doing anything wrong. I automatically feel nervous and it's just kind of like a natural reaction. I try to stay calm, but you do feel that nervousness.

Nola: Myself as a black woman, I have not run into law enforcement a lot. I don't know. That's because I tried to stay away from situations that would make me have to run into law enforcement. I've always been taught like, from a young age, and then having an older brother who's a black man, like you don't want to be around law enforcement, you don't want the police. So, I think I've always just tried to avoid that. Of course, I know people and I hear stories of how black people, specifically how black men are treated by law enforcement and that makes me nervous, or like my brother, my cousins, all the black men in my life. Um, and then for me, because I see myself as a black woman as well, because I've seen and heard stories of black woman and the awful treatment from law enforcement towards black women and black women's bodies. Yeah…I can't say I've had specific interactions with law enforcement, but I know that I avoided at all costs because I'm scared that if I were to ever run into law enforcement, even in something like being pulled over for like a simple traffic stop. Like that is something I want to avoid because I just, I'm scared that my black skin would potentially perpetuate that situation. So, it's just something that I try to avoid at all costs.

Monet: you know, being an African American, you know African in general and being around law enforcement at times, I felt like, in my experience, in my opinion, like, it's not as bad for women, like black women as it is for black men. And that's just my opinion. However, I know, the one-time where I've been stopped, it put a lot of fear and panic, and I was with my mom. So like it was like it wasn't, you know, as bad but also what's going on and like, you know, just being aware of like the things that happen every day, like I think that's where the panic stems from like, you know, the possibility that like, things might go negatively, but I don't think that it's as bad for me and just for like sometimes black women as it is for men. But I still think that it's an issue. And that is like something that we should all be very careful, just be cautious because it is our reality, but I don't think that I necessarily experience negative. You know, personally, I don't experience those negative things like my male friends have or may face in the future.

Through the testimonies of Niyah, Nola, and Monet, we can see and understand their internalized anxieties and fears of law enforcement. Each respondent is aware that the racial inequalities that Black people have encountered and received have been backed by a white dominant framing (Feagin 2013). This white dominant framing did

not just start in their generation or happened over night. It is a reoccurring theme that has been perpetuate for generations, but now it is more noticeable in contemporary times.

For Niyah, the notion of not "doing anything wrong" or complying with law enforcement commands, results in unequal treatment. For Nola and Monet, avoiding law enforcement is the norm. Also, notice how Nola and Monet talk about gender in their accounts. While they both realize that African Americans and Blacks are likely to encounter inequitable occurrences from the police. Most times than not, these occurrences result in death for men more frequently than women. However, Nola and Monet realize that it came happen to them too. Their black bodies are viewed as a threat. Their race is viewed as a threat.

Therefore, it is important to emphasize that Niyah, Nola, and Monet do not only operate of anxiety and fear, but they operate out of a black resistance counter-frame (Feagin 2013). To survive as a person of color in America, they employ tactics that aid or limit their interactions with law enforcement.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The current study employed a qualitative approach to explore the experiences of second-generation Black immigrants of continental African descent and how they managed the multiple challenges of maintaining an ancestral past while embracing their homeland. The findings in this study have been derived from an online questionnaire followed by several semi-structured interviews with respondents. I approached this study by asking the research question: *How do second-generation African immigrants subscribe to Black racial group identification and align their own identity?* To answer this question, the current chapter has been organized to summarize the themes found in the present study with the fifteen second-generation Black immigrants of continental African descent. There were five themes that emerged from the data:

1. Family Context
2. The Social Context
3. Pilgrimage to Africa
4. The Identification Process
5. Racialized Experiences

The family context was the first theme that was discussed in the study. As shown by the data, parent socialization plays a central role in the lives of second-generation African immigrants. The majority of respondents reported positive and similar experiences in the ways their parents raised them. As children, their parents reinforced cultural traditions and values from their homeland. These actions are done through food, traditional clothing, and their foreign accents and dialect. This allowed respondents to

explore their identities and gain a sense of who they are. As the respondents transitioned into adulthood, their parent's teachings remain in them. As a result, parental socialization for second-generation African immigrants is a valuable domain. The social context was the second theme discussed in the study and highlights the relations between African immigrants and African-Americans. My findings report that most respondents perceived the relationship between African immigrants and African-Americans in the United States as negative. In specific, the respondents suggested that there is tension or a disconnected between both groups because of the negative perceptions and stereotypes perpetuated toward each other. However, this finding is similar to a study, cited by Wachira (2013, p. 37) that Black African immigrants feel letdown from African Americans for "perceiving them as ignorant and apathetic towards Africa and African people" as well as "exhibiting attitudes that communicated to them that they rejected and hated Africans (Arthur 2000; Jackson & Cothran 2003).

The pilgrimage to Africa was the third theme reported. As shown in the study, most respondents did not actively engage in transnational activities. However, second-generation African immigrants did actively participate in traveling, visiting, and spending time in Africa. The majority of the respondents notated that they have visited several times. Also, Visiting the ancestral plane for second-generation African immigrants allows them to feel a sense of "cultural in-betweenness" (Wang 2016; as cited by Guiterrez 2018). However, respondents expressed little to no interest in sending remittances back to the homeland and keeping up with new and political agendas in the motherland. Previous studies have reported that parents play an important role in why

and how transnational ties can increase or decrease over time among the second generation (Gutierrez 2018). Nevertheless, this finding reveals that an important discovery because it shows how transnational activities among the second-generation have shifted.

The identification process section was the fourth theme. A significant finding in this section revealed how respondents identified themselves. My results also show how second-generation Africans negotiate between or embrace both their ethnic and racial identities. Various fields shape these identities. The majority of respondents identified as *other*. This *other* identity comprised three distinct identities: an ethnic-hyphenated identity, a tribal identity, or a generational status. In some respects, these findings mirror Waters' (1999) study on second-generation Black, West Indian immigrants. They identified by three different distinct identities, which was linked to preconceived notions and myths about the Black racial group and opportunity in America. As a result, they were able to resist being identified with Black Americans.

Yet, the experiences of second-generation African immigrants are unique to other Black immigrant groups. Although the respondents in the current study emphasize their distinct ethnic traits, they are innately American also. These individuals were born in the United States and were linked to the Black racial category at birth, based on their phenotype characteristics. The study also indicated that second-generation African immigrants are afflicted with an imposed identity, which some make an attempt to hide their identity. In addition, they are also expected to choose from fixed categories of

identities that are rooted in negative stereotypes of both Africans and Black Americans, which led to some of the respondents adopting an *other* identity.

The final findings of the study examined the racialized experiences of second-generation Black immigrants. I discovered that the majority of respondents experienced racism and discrimination across several forms - everyday interactions, school, workplace, and law enforcement. The respondents' accounts of discrimination, whether they were based on racial or ethnic identities, were similar to the experiences of their Black counterparts in the United States. The racial discrimination that second-generation African immigrants experienced was based on the Black racial group's phenotype characteristics. Microaggression, gender, and sexuality became infused into the identity of second-generation African immigrants.

The current study is a contribution to research as it expands the literature on Black immigrants' experiences in America by examining second-generation Black immigrants of Continental African descent. For decades, previous research has been devoted to exploring the experiences of second-generation Caribbean immigrants (Vickerman 1999; Waters 1994; Butterfield 2004). These studies have highlighted the duplexity of a Caribbean culture and an American way of life that has been filled with promising opportunities. However, the current research is needed because second-generation Africans, whether U.S.-born or raised, are doing better than the first generation, in terms of educational attainment, class, and economics. This population has been identified as one of America's fastest-growing Black immigrant groups, however, African immigrants, and their children are little studied.

This study expands the literature by examining the multi-layered transnational identities created by second-generation African immigrants. This is study employs a transnational approach that helps us pay attention to how second-generation African immigrants negotiate and identify their identities with the Black racial category group. Understanding how they create and recreate their own transnational identities provides insight into "how members of immigrant groups balance and their own cultures within mainstream expectations, how they define and redefine becoming and being American (McAuliffe 2008; Eisikovits 2014; as cited by Kebede 2017, p. 254).

More importantly, this research is a contribution to the literature of adaptation theories and models. For centuries, the works of traditional and contemporary assimilation theorists have focused on an undeviating process into American culture. These frameworks have been situated in an elite, white, dominance system that prescribes non-White immigrant groups two options to first-class citizenship. The first framework describes a "straight-line" path American citizenship by adopting the cultural ways and traditions of white, mainstream American culture while abandoning their country of origin's values, ideas, beliefs, customs, and practices (Warner and Srole 1945; Gordon 1964; Gans 1973). The second framework describes a "segmented" path with three patterns of adaptation: 1) consonant acculturation, 2) selective incorporation, and 3) downward mobility (Portes and Zhou 1993). These theories do not account for racial discrimination based on phenotypical features since these traditional models were designed to explain the assimilation experiences of European immigrants.

Furthermore, it should not be assumed that what's applicable for one Black immigrant group will be befitting for another Black immigrant group. Mobility to the United States for Black immigrants coming from the Caribbean is not the same for Black immigrants trekking from Africa. Based on the findings of the current study, the traditional straight-line assimilation framework or segmented-assimilation theory are rejected because they are not applicable to the current sample of second-generation African immigrants.

Recommendations

Several actions could increase the studies of second-generation Black immigrants of continental African descent. First, scholars need to conceptualize an unvarying definition for the term, second-generation. The current term has been susceptible to providing a contradictory meaning. In specific, it employs a generational status that alludes-to the "place of birth of an individual or an individual's parent" (U.S. Census 2019). Respondents in this study are the offspring of first-generation immigrants who migrated from the continent of Africa. However, they are not truly immigrants because they were born in the United States. Furthermore, previous research has inferred that foreign-born children migrate to the United States at an early age (0-4 years) are considered a part of the second generation due to sharing similar cultural and development experiences (Zhou 1997). Therefore, there needs to be a clear, distinct, and unified definition for the term, second-generation.

Second, scholars need to abandon the traditional understandings of adaptation theories. The prescribed pathways that Black immigrants and other immigrants have

used to come to the United States is fundamentally flawed. Early adaptation theories were introduced and centered around the framing of elite, white men to make sense of the current migration patterns of that time. As time has progressed, women and men of color would make strides to revitalize the processes of adaptation for other white European migrants to assimilate differently from their predecessors. However, these revisions did not account for race. Racial and ethnic minority groups, specifically Black immigrants, were unaccounted for, further perpetuating the white, racial, mainstream framing of adaptation theories. In a society where race is also directly tied to other socioeconomic factors like age, educational attainment, and class, these theories do not address the fundamental concepts of inequality and domination (Jung 2009). It also does not take into account the cultural heterogeneity of Black immigrants, nor does it confront the daunting racialized experiences of this group. Therefore, it is imperative to devise a conceptual tool that rejects the "taking of white, mainstream American society, with all its injustices and inequalities, as given" (Zhou and Bankston 1998:19, as cited by Jung 2009) and incorporate adaptation theories that are descriptive for future migration waves.

Future Research

There are also several ways that the future of this study can be investigated. First, my dissertation focused on second-generation black immigrants across the United States. Respondents across the country were able to participate in an online questionnaire from their respective cities. While this action provided a multitude of responses, it frequently highlighted the experiences of second-generation Black immigrant women. I found that

women respondents shared similar accounts, with some suggesting that they experienced microaggressions based on different aspects of their identities. Future research might want to engage in this topic with second-generation Black immigrant women, utilizing the Black feminist intersectionality construct to explore their experiences. Furthermore, this work should be led by a second-generation black female researcher. In this respect, not only have respondents had to wrestle with identity issues, but perhaps, both respondents and the researcher share gender-based experiences that were microaggressions as well. As a result, this study can implement call-to-action initiatives that address these issues for Black immigrant women who face these microaggressions.

Second, in my dissertation, I found an *Other* identity among 46% of the second-generation Black immigrants. These respondents were the offspring of contemporary West African immigrants from Nigeria and Ghana. Furthermore, they were more likely to identify under three distinct identities: an ethnic-hyphenated identity, a tribal identity, or a generational status. These findings align with the seminal work of Mary Waters' (1999) study that Black immigrants from the Caribbean "come to the United States with a portfolio of possible identities" (p. 91). This portfolio includes - "racial identities, national identities, and regional identities along with new possible identities as "immigrant" or "American" or a "hyphenated American" (Waters 1999:91). As seen in my dissertation, second-generation Black immigrants are creating new identities that increase their visibility. These identities place a greater emphasis on ethnic identities, transnational activities, and "acknowledge the diversity of blackness that allows for new solidarities" (Kebede 2018) that are not contingent upon the generalizations of all black

immigrant groups. Therefore, future research should investigate this trend, particularly among second-generation Black immigrants of continental Africa and other Black immigrants.

Lastly, given the racial climate in today's society, future research could also address the gendered experiences of second-generation Black immigrant men in terms of what it means to be a Black man in America. In an era where racial discourse and tension lead to the reenactment or reproduction of racialized incidents, Black immigrant men from different ethnicities have conflicting understandings about discrimination, prejudices, and race. For example, the daily activities in which the police are called on African-Americans to the incidents of police brutality against Blacks, these experiences may present different viewpoints for this populace. Therefore, it would be interesting to see how second-generation Black immigrant men, both born in the United States and Africa, negotiate their gendered and racialized experiences, in a period where racial discourse and tension involve competing ideas. I argue that a second-generation black male researcher should lead this type of work. Explicitly, this type of research should incorporate a focus group and centered in cities with large, Black immigrant residential communities -- Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Houston, Minneapolis, and Washington, D.C. Based on this topic, it will be situated in a conversation amongst other Black men and may not feel comfortable talking with someone who does not look like them.

REFERENCES

Adjepong, A. (2018). "Afropolitan Projects: African Immigrant Identities and Solidarities in the United States." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 41(2):248-266.

Alba, R. (1985). *Ethnicity and Race in the U.S.A.: Toward the Twenty-First Century.* Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Alba, R., & Nee, V. (1997). Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration. *International Migration Review, 31*(4), 826-874. doi:10.2307/2547416.

Arthur, J. A. (2000). *Invisible Sojourners: African Immigrant Diaspora in the United States*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Anderson, M., & López, G. (2020, May 30). Key facts about black immigrants in the U.S. Retrieved July 08, 2020, from https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/01/24/key-facts-about-black-immigrants-in-the-u-s/

Anderson, M. (2017, February 14). African immigrant population in U.S. steadily climbs. Retrieved from https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/02/14/african-immigrant-population-in-u-s-steadily-climbs/

Awokoya, J. T. (2009). "I'm not enough of anything!": The racial and ethnic identity constructions and negotiations of one-point five and second generations Nigerians. Unpublished doctoral dissertation University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland.

Bailey, B. (2007). Shifting Negotiations of Identity in a Dominican American Community. *Latino Studies, 5*(2), 157-181. doi:10.1057/palgrave.lst.8600247

Balogun, O. M. (2011). “No necessary tradeoff: Context, life course, and social networks in the identity formation of second-generation Nigerians in the USA.” *Ethnicities* 11 (4): 436-466.

Barriball, L. K. and While, A. (1994). Collecting Data Using a Semi-Structured Interview: A Discussion Paper. *Journal of Advance Nursing*, 19, 328-335.

Basch, L., N. Glick-Schiler, and C. Szanton-Blanc, eds. 1994. *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-states.* Switzerland: Gordeon and Breach.

Berthelemy, C. (2019). Second-generation African college students and the American ethnoracial pentagon: Self-identification, racial labeling and the contouring of group boundaries. *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal, 12*(2), 171-188. doi:10.1080/17528631.2018.1559788.

Biernacki, P., & Waldorf, D. (1981). Snowball Sampling: Problems and Techniques of Chain Referral Sampling. *Sociological Methods & Research*, *10*(2), 141-163. https://doi.org/10.1177/004912418101000205

Bryce-Laporte, R. (1972). “Black Immigrants: The Experience of Invisibility and Inequality.” *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1, Inequality and the Black Experience: Some International Dimensions.

Butterfield, S. P. (2015). Being Racialized Ethnics: Second Generation West Indian Immigrants In New York City. *Race and Ethnicity in New York City Research in Urban Sociology,* 107-136. doi:10.1016/s1047-0042(04)07005-9.

Butterfield, S.P. (2004). “Challenging American conceptions of race and ethnicity: second

generation West Indian immigrants", *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy,* Vol. 24 No. 7/8, pp. 75-102.

Burke PJ, Reitzes DC. (1991). An identity theory approach to commitment. *Soc. Psychol. Q*. 54:239-51.

Chacko, Elizabeth. (2018). "Fitting In and standing out: identity and transnationalism among second-generation African immigrants in the United States." *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal*.

Clark, M. K. (2008). Identity among first and second generation African immigrants in the United States. *African Identities, 6*(2), 169-181. doi:10.1080/14725840801933999

Collins, P. H., & Bilge, S. (2016). *Intersectionality*. Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design, qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches*. (4th Ed), Sage Publications London.

Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: choosing among five traditions.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J. W., & Miller, D. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory Into Practice*, 39(3), 124-130.

Creswell, JW.; Plano Clark, VL. (2011). Designing and conducting mixed method research. 2nd. Sage; Thousand Oaks, CA.

Cropley, A. J. 1983 The Education of Immigrant Children: A Social-Psychological Introduction. London: Croom Helm.

Croteau, David, and William Hoynes. (2017). Experience Sociology. 3rd ed. McGraw-Hill Education.

Cui, D. (2017). Integration Survey: The Integration of Second Generation Racialized

Minorities in the United States and Canada. Retrieved May 1, 2020, from https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/WPGNLX6

Dahinden, J. (2005). "Contesting transnationalism? Lessons from the study of Albanian migration networks from former Yugoslavia. *Global Netw.* 5: 191-208

Duke, S. (1984). Phenomenological methodology in the human sciences. *Journal of Religion and Health*, 23 (3), 197-203.

Eisikovits, R. A. (2014). "Second Generation Identities: The Case of Transnational Young Females of Russian Descent in Israel." *Ethnicities* 14 (3): 392-411.

Elias, S., & Feagin, J. R. (2016). *Racial theories in social science: A systemic racism critique*. New York, NY: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Espiritu, Yen and Thom Tran. (2002). "Viet Nam, Nuoc T'oi (Vietnam, My Country): Vietnamese Americans and Transnationalism." In *The Changing Face of Home*, edited by Peggy Levitt and Mary Waters, 255-294. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Faist, Thomas. (2000). *The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Feagin, J. R. (2013). *The white racial frame: Centuries of racial framing and counter-framing* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.

Feagin, J. R., & Ducey, K. (2017). *Elite white men ruling. Who, what, when, where, and how*. Basingstoke: Taylor & Francis.

Foner, N. (2005). *In a New Land: A Comparative View of Immigration.* New York, NY: New York University Press.

Foner, N. (2002). Second-Generation Transnationalism, Then and Now. In Levitt P. &

Waters M. (Eds.) *The Changing Face of Home, The Transnational Lives of the Second Generation* (pp. 242-252). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Foner, N. (2000). *From Ellis Island to JFK: New York's Two Great Waves of Immigration.* New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press.

Foner, N. (1997). 'What's new about transnationalism? New York immigrants today and at the turn of the century', *Diaspora*, 6, 355-75.

Fouron, G., & Glick-Schiller, N. (2002). "The Generation of Identity: Redefining the Second Generation Within a Transnational Social Field". In Levitt P. & Waters M. (Eds.) *The Changing Face of Home: The Transnational Lives of the Second Generation* (pp. 168-208). Russell Sage Foundation.

Gans, H. J. (1992). Second-generation decline: Scenarios for the economic and ethnic futures of the post-1965 American immigrants. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 15*(2), 173-192. doi:10.1080/01419870.1992.9993740.

Gans, H. (1973). "Introduction." In *Ethnic Identity and Assimilation: The Polish Community*. Ed. N. Sandberg. New York: Praeger.

Glesne, C. (2006). *Becoming qualitative researchers: an introduction*. Boston, MA: Pearson.

Glick-Schiller, N., L. Basch, and C. Blanc-Szanton. (1995). "From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration." *Anthropological Quarterly* 68 (1): 48-63.

Glick Schiller, N., L. Basch and C. Blanc-Szanton. 1992. "Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences,* 645:1-24.

Gordon, Milton. (1964). *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Gowricharn, R. (2009). Changing forms of transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 32*(9), 1619-1638. doi:10.1080/01419870902853232.

Gutierrez, A. (2018). A family affair: how and why second-generation Filipino-Americans engage in transnational social and economic connections. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *41*(2), 229–247. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2017.1287418

Haller, William and Patricia Landolt. (2005). "The Transnational Dimensions of Identity Formation: Adult Children of Immigrants in Miami," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28: 6: 1182-1214.

Haikkola, L. (2011). Making Connections: Second-Generation Children and the Transnational Field of Relations. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 37 (8), 1201-17.

Heidegger, M. (1962). *Being and time*. Trans. by John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson. New York: Harper and Row.

Imoagene, O. (2018). Gauging panethnicity: Affirmative action, African Americans, and children of black immigrants. *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal, 12*(2), 156-170. doi:10.1080/17528631.2018.1559790.

Imoagene, O. (2017). *Beyond Expectations: Second-Generation Nigerians in the United States and Britain.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Imoagene, O. (2015). Broken bridges: An exchange of slurs between African Americans and second generation Nigerians and the impact on identity formation among the second generation. *Language Sciences, 52,* 176-186. doi:10.1016/j.langsci.2015.03.010.

Itzigsohn, J., C. D. Cabral, E. H. Medina and O. Vazquez. (1999). "Mapping Dominican Transnationalism: Narrow and Broad Transnational Practices," *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 22:316-339.*

Jackson, J. & Cothran, M. E. (2003). Black versus Black: The relationship among African, African American, and African Caribbean persons. *Journal of Black Studies, 33*(5), 576-604.

Jung, M. (2009). The Racial Unconscious Of Assimilation Theory1. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, *6*(2), 375-395. doi:10.1017/s1742058x09990245

Kasinitz, P., Mollenkopf, J., Waters, M. and Holdaway, J. (2009). Inheriting the City: The Children of Immigrants Come of Age. New York and Boston: Russell Sage and Harvard University Press.

Kebede, Kassahun. (2019). "Ethiopia is Misunderstood': Transnationalism among Second-Generation Ethiopian Americans." *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal.* 10 (3): 252-268.

Kebede, Kassahun (2018). "The African second generation in the United States – identity and transnationalism: an introduction." *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal.* 1-18.

Kebede, Kassahun. (2017). "Twice-hyphenated: Transnationality Identity among Second-Generation Ethiopian-American Professionals in the Washington, DC, Metropolitan Area." *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal* 10:3, 252-268.

Kebede, Kassahun. (2012). "Double Engagement: the Transnational Experiences of

Ethiopian Immigrants in the Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Area." *Anthropology – Dissertations.* 97. https://surface.syr.edu/ant_etd/97

Kelly, Philip. (2015). "Transnationalism, emotion and second-generation social mobility in the Filipino-Candaian diaspora". *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography,* 36: 280-299.

"Key findings about U.S. Immigrants." Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (2019, June 17). Retrieved from https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/06/17/key-findings-about-u-s-immigrants/

Kivisto, Peter. (2001). "Theorizing transnational immigration: a critical review of current efforts." *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* vol. no. 4, pp. 549-77.

Kwarteng, K. (2016). "The Remittance Objectives of Second-Generation Ghanaian Americans." In *The New African Diaspora in the United States,* edited by Toyin Falola and Adebayo Oyebade, 119-140. Routledge.

Landolt, P., L. Auder and S. Baires. (1999). "From Hermano Lejano to Hermano Mayor: the Dialectics of Salvadoran Transnationalism," *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 22:290-315.*

Lee, S. J., Park, E., & Wong, J.-H. S. (2017). Racialization, Schooling, and Becoming American: Asian American Experiences. *Educational Studies*, *53*(5), 492–510. doi: 10.1080/00131946.2016.1258360

Levitt, P. (2009). "Roots and Routes: Understanding the Lives of the Second-Generation Transnationally." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35 (7): 1225-1242.

Levitt, P. (2004), "Transnational Migrants: When "Home" Means More Than One Country" Retrieved February 26, 2020, from https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/transnational-migrants-when-home

means-more-one-country.

Levitt, P. (2001), "Transnational migration: taking stock and future directions." Global Networks, 1: 195-216. doi:10.1111/1471-0374.00013

Levitt, P. and Jaworsky, B.N. (2007). "Transnational Migration Studies: Past Developments and Future Trends", *Annual Review of Sociology,* 33: 129-56.

Levitt, P. and M C. Waters. (2002a). 'Introduction', in Peggy Levitt and Mary Waters (eds), *The Changing Face of Home: The Transnational Lives of the Second Generation*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Levitt, P. and M C. Waters. (2002b). *The Changing Face of Home: The Transnational Lives of the Second Generation*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Lieberson, S. (1980). *A Piece of the Pie: Blacks and White Immigrants since 1880.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lieberson, S. (1973). "Generational Differences among Blacks in the North," *American Journal of Sociology,* 79:550-565.

Louise Barriball, K. and While, A. (1994), Collecting data using a semi-structured interview: a discussion paper. Journal of Advanced Nursing, 19: 328-335. doi:10.1111/j.1365-2648.1994.tb01088.x

Marvasti, A. B. (2004). Qualitative Research in Sociology. An Introduction. Sage Publication Inc., Thousand Oaks.

Maxwell, J. A. (1996). *Qualitative research design: an interactive approach.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

McAuliffe, C. 2008. "Challenging "the Problem" between Two Nations: The Second

Generation in the Iranian Diaspora." In *Ties to the Homeland: Second-Generation Transnationalism*, edited by H. Lee, 126-150. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars.

Menjivar, C. 2002. "Living in Two Worlds? Guatemalan-Origin Children in the United States and Emerging Transnationalism." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 28 (3): 531-552.

Morawska, E. (2003). "Disciplinary Agendas and Analytic Strategies of Research on Immigrant Transnationalism: Challenges of Interdisciplinary Knowledge", *International Migration Review*.

Morawska, E. (2004). "Exploring Diversity in Immigrant Assimilation and Transnationalism: Poles and Russian Jews in Philadelphia." *International Migration Review*, 38 (4): 1372 – 1412.

Mohme, G. (2014). "Samira Doesn't Live Here Anymore: Somali-Swedes' Mobility as Transnational Practice." *Nordic Journal of Migration Research* 4 (3): 118-125.

Neckerman, K. M., Carter, P., & Lee, J (1999). Segmented assimilation and minority cultures of mobility. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 22*(6), 945-965.

Ndemanu, M. T. (2019). Transnational identity formation of second-generation Cameroonian youth in the United States: a perspective of a Cameroonian parent-educator. *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal*, *12*(2), 211–227. doi: 10.1080/17528631.2018.1559784.

Onuzulike, Uchenna. (2016). "The Young Igbo Diaspora in the United States." In *The New African Diaspora in the United States*, 41-52. London: Routledge.

Onuzulike, Uchenna. (2014). Ethnic and Transnational Identities in the Diaspora: A

Phenomenological Study of Second-Generation Igbo-American Young Adults. Dissertation, Available from ProQuest Dissertations and These Database, UMI No. 3639879.

Owens, T. J., Robinson, D. T., & Smith-Lovin, L. (2010). Three Faces of Identity. *Annual Review of Sociology, 36*(1), 477-499. doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.34.040507.134725

Palinkas, L. A., Horwitz, S. M., Green, C. A., Wisdom, J. P., Duan, N., & Hoagwood, K. (2015). Purposeful Sampling for Qualitative Data Collection and Analysis in Mixed Method Implementation Research. *Administration and policy in mental health*, *42*(5), 533–544. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10488-013-0528-y

Phinney, J. S. (1991). "Ethnic Identity and Self-Esteem: A Review and Integration," Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 13(2): 193-208.

Phinney, J. S. (1990). "Ethnic Identity in Adolescents and Adults: Review of Research," Psychological Bulletin, 108(3):499-514.

Piedra, L. M., & Engstrom, D. W. (2009). Segmented assimilation theory and the life model: An integrated approach to understanding immigrants and their children. *Social Work*, 54, 270-277.

Portes, A. and Alejandro Rivas (2011). The Adaptation of Migrant Children. *The Future of Children*, Vol. 21, No. 1, Immigrant Children.

Portes, A., L. E. Guarnizo, and W. Haller, (2002). "Transnational entrepreneurs: An Alternative Form of Immigrant Economic Adaptation." *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 67, No. 2 (Apr. 2002), pp. 278-298.

Portes, A., L. Guarnizo, and P. Landolt. (1999). "Introduction: Pitfalls and Promise of An Emergent Research Field." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 22: 463-78.

Portes, Alejandro and Ruben G. Rumbaut. (2001). *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Portes, Alejandro. (2001). "Introduction: The Debates and Significance of Immigrant Transnationalism." *Global Network* 1: 181-194.

Portes, Alejandro and Min Zhou. (1993). "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 530: 74-96.

Prosper, V. (2006). Navigating different worlds: Ethnic and racial identity of American born young adult women with Haitian immigrant parents. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Boston College.

Rossman, G., & Rallis, S. F. (2012). *Learning in the field: An introduction to qualitative research* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Rumbaut, R. (2002). "Severed or Sustained Attachments? Language, Identity, and Imagined Communities in the Post-Immigrant Generation." In *The Changing Face of Home*, edited by Peggy Levitt and Mary Waters, 43-95. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Rumbaut, R. (1994). The crucible within: Ethnic identity, self-esteem, and segmented assimilation among children of immigrants. *International Migration Review* 28(4): 748-794.

Sall, Dialika. (2018). Convergent identifications, divergent meanings: the racial and ethnic identities of second-generation West African youth, *African and Black Diaspora*: An International Journal, DOI: 10.1080/17528631.2018.1559785.

Satre, J.-P. (1956). *Being and Nothingness*. Trans. Hazel Barnes. New York: Washington Square Press.

"Second-Generation Americans." Pew Research Center, Washington, D.C. (2019, December 31). Retrieved from https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2013/02/07/second-generation-americans/

Seidman, I. (2006). *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences*. New York, NY, NY: Teachers College Press.

Schiller, N. G., Basch, L., & Blanc-Szanton, C. (1992). Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, *645*(1 Towards a Tra), 1–24. doi: 10.1111/j.1749-6632.1992.tb33484.x

Smith-Lovin, L. (1979). Behavior Settings and Impressions Formed from Social Scenarios. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 42*(1), 31. doi:10.2307/3033871

Stepik, A. (1998). *Pride against Prejudice: Haitians in the United States.* Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Stepick, A., & Stepick, C. D. (2010). The complexities and confusions of segmented assimilation. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 33*(7), 1149-1167. doi:10.1080/01419871003599518

Stryker, S. (2008). From Mead to a Structural Symbolic Interactionism and Beyond. *Annual Review of Sociology, 34*(1), 15-31. doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.34.040507.134649

Suarez-Orozco, M. M. and C. Suarez-Orozco. (1995). "The Cultural Patterning of Achievement Motivation: A Comparative Study of Mexican, Mexican Immigrant, and Non-Latino White American Youths in Schools." In California's Immigrant Children: Theory, Research, and Implications for Educational Policy. Ed. R. G. Rumbaut and W A. Cornelius. San Diego: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California.

Suarez-Orozco, C. and Suarez-Orozco, M. (2001). *Children of Immigration*. Harvard

University Press.

Thomas, K. J. (2010). Household Context, Generational Status, and English Proficiency among the Children of African Immigrants in the United States. *International Migration Review*, *44*(1), 142–172. doi: 10.1111/j.1747-7379.2009.00801.x

Tetnowski, J. A., & Damico, J. S. (2001). A demonstration of the advantages of qualitative methodologies in stuttering research. *Journal of Fluency Disorders*, *26*(1), 17-42. doi:10.1016/s0094-730x(01)00094-8

Tiilikainen, Marja. (2017). "'Whenever mom Hands Over the Phone, Then we Talk': Transnational Ties to the Country of Descent Among Canadian Somali Youth." *Migration Letters* 14 (1): 63-74.

Trieu, M. M., N. Vargas, and R.G. Gonzales. (2015). "Transnational Patterns Among Asian American and Latina/o American Children of Immigrants from Southern California." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42 (7): 1177-1198.

U.S. Census Bureau, 2013 Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplement.

Valentine, Curtis. (2012). "Rethinking the achievement gap: lessons from the African diaspora." Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/therootdc/post/rethinking-the-achievement-gap-lessons-from-the-african-diaspora/2012/09/04/eebc5214-f362-11e1-a612-3cfc842a6d89_blog.html

Vertovec, Steven. (2009). *Transnationalism*. London: Routledge.

Vertovec, Steven. (1997). "Three Meanings of Diaspora Exemplified Among South Asian Religions." *Diaspora* 6(3): 277-99.

Vickerman, Milton. (2001). “Tweaking A Monolith: The West Indian Immigrant Encounter with ‘Blackness’.” Pp. 237-256 in *Islands in the City: West Indian Migration to New York*, edited by Nancy Foner. University of California Press.

Vickerman, Milton. (1999). *Crosscurrents: West Indian Immigrants and Race.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Wachira, A. (2013). The Manifestation of Race in the Lives of Black African Immigrants in the United States. *Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies in Education,* 1(2). Retrieved from https://isejournal.org/index.php/jse/article/view/39.

Waldinger, R., & Feliciano, C. (2004). Will the new second generation experience ‘downward assimilation’? Segmented assimilation re-assessed. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 27*(3), 376-402. doi:10.1080/0149198704200018919 6.

Waldinger, R., & Fitzgerald, D. (2004). Transnationalism in Question. *American Journal of Sociology, 109*(5), 1177-1195. doi:10.1086/381916.

Warner, W. Lloyd and Leo Srole. (1945). *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Waters, M. C., Tran, V. C., Kasinitz, P., & Mollenkopf, J. H. (2010). Segmented Assimilation Revisited: Types of Acculturation and Socioeconomic Mobility in Young Adulthood. *Ethnic and racial studies*, *33*(7), 1168–1193. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419871003624076.

Waters, Mary C. (1999). Black Identities: West Indian Immigrant Dreams and American Realities. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Waters, Mary C. (1994). Ethnic and racial identities of second-generation black immigrants in New York City. International Migration Review 28, no. 4: 795-820.

Wang, Leslie K. (2016). "The Benefits of In-betweenness: Return Migration of Second-generation Chinese American Professionals to China." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42 (12): 1941-1958.

Whewell, William. (1840). *The Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*. 2 vols. London: Parker.

Williams, Veeda V. (2011). Brothers of the Trade: Intersections of Racial Framing and Identity Processes upon African-Americans and African Immigrants in America - Ancestral Kinsmen of the American Slave Trade. Doctoral dissertation, Texas A&M University.

Wolf, Diane. (2002). "There's No Place Like "Home": Emotional Transnationalism and the Struggles of Second-Generation Filipinos." In *The Changing Face of Home*, edited by Peggy Levitt and Mary Waters, 255-294. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Zephir, F. (2001). Trends in Ethnic Identification Among Second-Generation Haitian Immigrants in New York City. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.

Zhou, Min. (1997). "Growing up American: The Challenge Confronting Immigrant Children and Children of Immigrants." *Annual Review of Sociology* 23: 69-95.

Zhou, Min, and Carl L. Bankston III (1998). *Growing Up American: The Adaptation of Vietnamese Adolescents in the United States*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

APPENDIX A

TIASGA ONLINE QUESTIONNAIRE

Demographic Questions

Before we begin the survey, we would like to take a moment to learn more about you and your background. Please take a moment to answer each of the following questions. Even if these questions look like ones you may have answered in the past, please review and answer each one carefully. Your answers are important to us and thank you for your participation.

1. What is your name?

2. What is your gender?
    - Male
    - Female

3. How old are you?
    - 18 – 25
    - 26 – 33
    - 34 – 40

4. Where were you born? (City and State or Country)

5. What is your residential/citizen status?

6. Are you a second-generation African immigrant?
   Second-generation African immigrant refers to individuals born and raised in the United States who have at least one foreign-born parent.
    - Yes
    - No

7. Indicate the highest level of education you have completed:
    - High school or less
    - Some college hours
    - Associate or two-year degree
    - Bachelor or four-year degree
    - Graduate or professional degree (Masters)
    - Graduate or professional degree (Doctoral)

8. Are you currently employed?
    - Part-time
    - Full-time
    - Not Employed

9. What is your current occupation and job title? (Write N/A if not applicable)

10. What is your biological/birth mother's ancestry or ethnic origin?
    For example: Cameroonian, Ghanaian, Nigerian, and so on.

11. Where was your mother born?
    Please indicate the state or country of your mother's birthplace.

12. If your biological/birth mother was born in a foreign country, in what year approximately did she come to the United States?

13. If your biological/birth mother was born in a foreign country, why did she come to the United States?
    (Please rank three of the most important reasons in order using the numbers: 1, 2, and 3)
    _____ To improve her economic situation
    _____ To reunite with family
    _____ For political reasons
    _____ Don't know/ Does not apply
    _____ Other (Please explain) _____

14. What is your biological/birth mother's occupation?

15. What is the highest level of education that she completed?
    - High school or less
    - Some college hours
    - Associate or two-year degree
    - Bachelor or four-year degree
    - Graduate or professional degree (Master)
    - Graduate or professional degree (Doctoral)

16. (If biological/birth mother was born in a foreign country) How does she identify herself?
    - African
    - African-American
    - Black
    - Ethnic Origin (e.g. Nigerian, Ghanaian, etc.)
    - N/A (Not Applicable)
    - Other (Please explain) _____

17. What is your biological/birth father's ancestry or ethnic origin?
    For example: Cameroonian, Ghanaian, Nigerian, and so on.

18. Where was your father born?
    Please indicate the state or country of your father's birthplace.

19. If your biological/birth father was born in a foreign country, in what year approximately did he come to the United States?

20. If your biological/birth father was born in a foreign country, why did he come to the United States?
(Please rank three of the most important reasons in order using the numbers: 1, 2, and 3)
_____ To improve her economic situation
_____ To reunite with family
_____ For political reasons
_____ Don't know/ Does not apply
_____ Other (Please explain) _____

21. What is your biological/birth father's occupation?

22. What is the highest level of education that he completed?
- o High school or less
- o Some college hours
- o Associate or two-year degree
- o Bachelor or four-year degree
- o Graduate or professional degree (Master)
- o Graduate or professional degree (Doctoral)

23. (If biological/birth father was born in a foreign country), How does he identify himself?
- o African
- o African-American
- o Black
- o Ethnic Origin (e.g. Nigerian, Ghanaian, etc.)
- o N/A (Not applicable)
- o Other (Please explain) _____

Language
The following questions will allow you to tell us more about your experience using language.

24. Do you speak a language other than English with family or friends?

- o Yes, please explain what language it is _____
- o No

25. Fluency in Non-English Language
Ability to speak the language?
- o Poor Below Average Average Very Good Excellent

Ability to understand the language?
- o Poor Below Average Average Very Good Excellent

26. Usage of Non-English Language
How often do you use this language when you are talking with family or friends?
- o Seldom. From time to time. Often. Always.

Family
The following statements will allow you to tell us more about you and your family.

27. Please select a circle for each of the statements below to show how much you agree or disagree with it.

Strongly Disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree Don't Know

- My parent(s)' struggles and sacrifice as immigrants in the United States motivated me to make better life choices.
- My parent(s)' encouraged me to learn about my ethnicity.
- My parent(s)' had a positive influence on my racial/ethnicity identity construction.
- I have maintained transnational connections with my relatives/friends in my parents(s)' country of origin.
- My transnational connection positively influenced my racial/ethnic identity formation.
- I want to keep a distance from my parent(s)' cultural heritage.

Identification Processes

Below, you will be asked a series of questions for which you are to provide detailed responses (providing examples when possible) regarding your racial identities and experiences and the identities and experiences of your family and friends. Please take a moment to answer each of the following questions. Even if these questions look like ones you may have answered in the past, please review and answer each one carefully. Your answers are important to us and thank you for your participation.

28. In terms of your own racial or ethnic identity, **how do you identify yourself**?
    - African
    - African-American
    - Black
    - National Origin (e.g. Nigerian, Ghanaian, etc.)
    - Other (Please explain) _____

29. How important is your identity to you?
Not Important Somewhat Important Very Important
30. Please tell me why you identify the way you do.

31. Please provide an example(s) of what led to how you identify or what you call yourself. Please explain your response in detail.

32. In terms of your racial or ethnic identity, **how do you think African-Americans identify you**?
    - o African
    - o African-American
    - o Black
    - o National Origin (e.g. Nigerian, Ghanaian, etc.)
    - o Other (Please explain) _____

33. How important is the identity African-Americans call you?
Not Important Somewhat Important Very Important

34. Tell me why you believe African-Americans identify you as such.

35. Please provide an example(s) of what led you to believe in how African-Americans identify you or what they call you. Please explain your response in detail.

36. When people ask you about your race or ethnicity, do you ever change the way you respond to them or do you always say the same thing? Explain.

    - o Yes, my response is the same.
    - o No, my response may vary.

37. Please provide an example(s) of when your response may change when people ask you about your race or ethnicity. Please explain your response in detail.

38. How did you determine when to change your response or restate the same thing about your race or ethnicity? Please explain your response in detail.

39. How would you describe the relationship between African immigrants and African-Americans in the United States? Please provide specifics and/or incidents and/or examples related to your response.

40. Describe in detail important and specific examples of how your parent(s) emphasized the prominence of national origin, African values, traditions and customs **during your childhood**.

    In your response, answer the following:

    - o What was the situation? Please provide specific details.

    - o What did you see? What did you learn?

    - o How did this make you feel?

41. Describe in detail important and specific examples of how your parent(s) emphasized the prominence of national origin, African values, traditions, and customs **during your adulthood**.

    In your response, answer the following:

    - What was the situation? Please provide specific details.
    - What did you see? What did you learn?
    - Have these values, traditions, and customs changed you or your perceptions in any way? If so, explain how.
    - Looking back, what would you do differently now, if anything?

42. Have you ever tried to hide your racial or ethnic identity? If so, please describe your most memorable incident. Please describe in detail when this incident occurred, the environment, who was involved in the incident (use generic titles, such as "a classmate" or other titles; do not use names) and describe what happened.

43. Have you traveled to Africa?
    - Yes
    - No
44. (If yes), What part(s) of Africa have you traveled to?

45. (If yes), How many times have you visited Africa?
    - 1 to 3 _____
    - 4 to 6 _____
    - 7 to 9 _____
    - 10+ _____

46. (If yes), How long are your visits (on average)?
    - 1 week _____
    - 2 weeks _____
    - 3 weeks _____
    - 1 month _____
    - Over 1 month _____

47. Do you have relatives in Africa?
    - Yes
    - No
48. (If yes), Where in Africa do your relatives reside? (Please name the country/countries)

49. How often do you connect with your family members in _____? (via phone, social media, email)
    - Always
    - Very often
    - Sometimes
    - Rarely
    - Never

50. How often do you send money to your family members in _____?
    - Always
    - Very often
    - Sometimes
    - Rarely
    - Never

51. How often do you keep up with news and political agendas in _____?
    - Always
    - Very often
    - Sometimes
    - Rarely
    - Never

52. Tell me about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it.

Strongly disagree Disagree Neutral Agree Strongly Agree Don't Know

- I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means to me.
- I am happy that I am a member of the ethnic group I belong to.
- I have a strong sense of belonging to my ethnic group.
- I participate in cultural activities of my ethnic group such as foods, music, or customs.
- I participate in transnational practices of my ethnic group such as sending remittances, participating in transnational politics, migrant entrepreneurship, visiting and sustaining contacts with family in the ancestral land.
- I think about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.
- I understand what my ethnic group membership means to me, in terms of how to relate to my group and other groups.
- I feel a strong attachment to my ethnic group

Racialized Experiences

53. Have you ever experienced any racial or ethnic discrimination? If so, describe your most memorable incident. Please describe in detail the environment, who was involved in the incident (use generic titles, such as "a classmate" or other titles; do not use names) and describe what happened.

54. Have you ever experienced any racial or ethnic discrimination in ***school***? If so, describe your most memorable incident. Please describe in detail the environment, who was involved in the incident (use generic titles, such as "a classmate" or other titles; do not use names) and describe what happened.

55. Have you ever experienced any racial or ethnic discrimination in the ***workplace***? If so, describe your most memorable incident. Please describe in detail the environment, who was involved in the incident (use generic titles, such as "a classmate" or other titles; do not use names) and describe what happened.

56. Have you ever experienced any racial or ethnic discrimination with ***law enforcement***? If so, describe your most memorable incident. Please describe in detail the environment, who was involved in the incident (use generic titles, such as "a classmate" or other titles; do not use names) and describe what happened.

Conclusion

57. Is there anything else that you would like to add to about the identity of second-generation African immigrants that have not been covered in this questionnaire or are there any significant questions or areas of concern that have been left out of this questionnaire? If so, please provide your suggestions below.

58. Do you have any comments or questions regarding the questionnaire or research? If so, please provide specific comments and/or questions below.

59. May we contact you in the future about this study?
    - Yes
    - No

60. (If yes), Please provide your contact information.
    - Name:
    - Email Address:
    - Phone Number:

End of Survey

We thank you for your time spent taking this survey. Your response has been recorded.

APPENDIX B

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

This semi-structured interview guide will be utilized for second-generation Africans to provide detailed responses (providing examples when possible) regarding their racial/ethnic identities and experiences in the United States.

1. When were you first aware of your race/ethnicity?
    a. When did your race/ethnicity matter to you or others?
    b. Please describe an event, incident or provide an example of that made you aware of race/ethnicity.

2. What are the ways that you identify in terms of your race/ethnicity?

3. Which terms/labels do you prefer to racially/ethnically identify yourself?
    a. How would you define these identities?
    b. What does it mean to you to be this particular identity?

4. Focusing on your _____ identity, what kinds of things do you hear (positive and negative) about being _____?
    a. What kinds of things do you hear about what it means to be _____? Please provide detailed examples.

5. How do you think the things that you've heard about being _____ affected you?

6. What would you say is the most commonly held misconception about of your racial identity or ethnic identity?

7. Based on your racial/ethnic identity, what constitutes "experiencing racism"?

8. What form(s) of racism have you experienced?
    a. When did you experience this form(s) of racism?
    b. Please provide a detailed example of your experience.
    c. How did you manage or confront this experience?

9. Have you ever encountered racism from persons you align your racial identity or ethnic identity with?
    a. When did you experience this form(s) of racism?
    b. Please provide a detailed example of your experience.
    c. How did you manage or confront this experience?
10. In your opinion, what can be done to combat racism in the United States?

11. Have you ever experienced any feelings such as shame or guilt towards your race/ethnicity?
    a. If so, how did you manage or confront these feelings?
    b. Do you feel like you have resolved these feelings?
    c. If so, how did you resolve these feelings?
    d. If not, why do you think you have not resolved these feelings?

12. How do you perceive having a racial identity or ethnic identity affects your opportunities in education?

13. How do you perceive having a racial identity or ethnic identity affects your opportunities in the workplace?

14. How do you perceive having a racial identity or ethnic identity affects your interactions with law enforcement?

15. How do you perceive having a racial identity or ethnic identity affects your interactions with other racial groups or ethnic groups?

16. Do you pay attention to your parent(s)' homeland current events and culture?
    a. If yes, please provide a detailed response on how accomplish this task.
    b. If no, please provide a detailed response of why you do not.

17. Do your parents send remittances?
    a. If yes, please provide a detailed response that includes how much, what is it for, and their reasoning for doing so.
    b. If no, please provide a detailed response of they do not.

18. Are you currently sending remittances?
    a. If yes, please provide a detailed response that includes how much, what is it for, and your reasoning for doing so.
    b. If no, please provide a detailed response of why you do not.

19. Are you a member or affiliated with any associations/organizations from your parent(s)' homeland?
    a. If yes, please provide name of the association/organization
    b. If no, please provide a detailed response of why you are not.

(Asked only to the interviewee if they feel their racial identity or ethnic identity is more salient than the other)

20. Do you now or have you ever identified stronger with your racial identity or ethnic identity?
    a. If so, which identity is more salient than the other?

21. Have you ever felt you had to choose between your racial identity or ethnic identity?
    a. If so, please provide a detail example of when this incident/situation occurred.

22. Is there anything you would like others to know that was not included here about your racial identity or ethnic identity?

23. Is there anything else you would like to share?

Thank you.

APPENDIX C

TIASGA INFORMED CONSENT DOCUMENT

Title of Research Study**: The Darker the Flesh, The Deeper the Roots: The Transnational Identity Among Second-Generation African Immigrants**

Investigator**: *Dr. Joe Feagin***

Funded/Supported By**: *This research is funded/supported by Texas A&M University.***

Financial Interest Disclosure:

Why are you being invited to take part in a research study?

You are being asked to participate because you...

What should you know about a research study?

- Someone will explain this research study to you.
- Whether or not you take part is up to you.
- You can choose not to take part.
- You can agree to take part and later change your mind.
- Your decision will not be held against you.
- You can ask all the questions you want before you decide.

Who can I talk to?

If you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or think the research has hurt you, talk to the research team at Dr. Joe Feagin, principal investigator, at 979-862-3952 or feagin@tamu.edu. You may also contact Jeffrey Opaleye, later if you have any additional questions or concerns at 713-570-6514 or jopaleye@tamu.edu.
This research has been reviewed and approved by the Texas A&M Institutional Review Board (IRB). You may talk to them at 1-979-458-4067, toll free at 1-855-795-8636, or by email at irb@tamu.edu., if

- You cannot reach the research team.

- Your questions, concerns, or complaints are not being answered by the research team.

- You want to talk to someone besides the research team.
- You have questions about your rights as a research participant.
- You want to get information or provide input about this research.

Why is this research being done?

Exploring the lives and experiences of second-generation African immigrants, this study specifically addresses how second-generation African immigrants manage the challenges of maintaining their ethnic identities while embracing American values in the United States. It provides a thorough understanding of how structural factors, cultural and social processes impact ethnic and racial identities that are distinct from black Americans. This study has the potential to impact the current discussion of theoretical orientations, which has largely focused on the integration processes of nonwhite immigrants who come from the Caribbean and tends to treat all adaptation processes into U.S. societies the same. Thus, this research emphasizes the importance of examining the identities of second- generation African immigrants within a *transnational* perspective that not brings awareness to their "transnational struggles...as they balance their own cultures with mainstream expectations" (Kebede 2018), but provides a better understanding of the experiences a *New African Diaspora*. Through this new African diaspora, we can understand the subtle differences of identity between second-generation African immigrants compared to first-generation African immigrants, particularly in the ways they define and redefine family identities with American values and the interactions of transnational connections. Lastly, this study contributes to the literature that investigates the racialized experiences of second-generation African immigrants. While previous studies have primarily focused on whether or not second-generation immigrants were assimilating into American societies, the question of belonging in an imbalance structure for this growing population has become puzzling. Included in this discussion is the *contestation* of African Americanization. Entities such as cultural stereotype, the media, and socialization processes are not only detrimental to their identity, but it also provides a conflicting understanding of what it means to be Black in America, which shapes their experience. Therefore, this is a discussion that is imperative to the largest and growing Black immigrant group in the United States.

How long will the research last?

We expect that you will be in this research study for approximately 2 hours.

How many people will be studied?

Approximately 100 people in the entire study nationally will be enrolled.

What happens if I say "Yes, I want to be in this research"?

- An email will be sent to participants who identify as second-generation African immigrants. Individuals may choose to participate by clicking on the link embedded in the recruitment email. Clicking on the link indicates that the participant has read the information provide and has decided to participate in the study. Participant will take the online questionnaire. The final question of the online questionnaire will indicate whether or not participant would like to participate in a follow-up interview. If the participant selects "yes", they will be prompted for their email and telephone number. Personnel will reach out to the

participant to schedule a day/time for 1 hr. follow-up interview. Once scheduled, the participant will be sent a consent form to sign and return. Participant will either participate in a follow-up interview via face-to-face, telephone, Skype/Facetime, etc. Participation and data collected will be kept confidential.

- The online survey will approximately take 1 hour. The follow-up interview will approximately take 1 hour. Total completion of the entire process will be 2 hours.
- The study participants will only interact with study personnel.
- The research will be conducted online. Follow up interviews will be scheduled as needed and will be conducted face-to-face, Skype/Facetime, Telephone, etc. by personnel.
- The research will be done for that participant once the follow up interview is complete.
- There are no experimental procedures. This study will only consist an online questionnaire and follow up interview. Participation in this study is voluntary and little to no risk to the participant.
- Respondents will only participate in an online questionnaire, once. Respondents who participate in follow-up interviews will only participate, once.
- Online questionnaire and follow up interviews will be performed for this study.
- No clinical care is being offered.
- No procedures are part of regular medical care that will be done even if the participant does not participate in the research.
- Following the online questionnaire, participants will be asked for permission to be contacted for a follow-up interview.
- During the follow up interviews, audio recording will take place to support data collection. Audio will be transcribed. Agreement to be recorded is required for participation due to data collection and transcription needs**.**

What happens if I do not want to be in this research?

You can leave the research at any time and it will not be held against you.

What happens if I say "Yes", but I change my mind later?

You can leave the research at any time and it will not be held against you.
If you decide to leave the research, contact the investigator so that the investigator can remove the data collected from the participant.

Is there any way being in this study could be bad for me?

The potential for loss of confidentiality is minimal and no greater than everyday life. to minimize the potential risk for loss of confidentiality, however, all data will be maintained on a computer that has a password-required code to gain access to the data. If you wish to discuss the information above, you may ask questions via reply to this email or call the principal investigator listed on the front page of this form.

Will being in this study help me in any way?

We cannot promise any benefits to you or others from your taking part in this research. However, possible benefits include this study will take a critical look in examining the dynamics of transnational identity in second-generation African immigrants and how they manage issues that are related to racial and ethnic identity and lifestyle in the united states. Therefore, participating in this study may result in opportunities to share information in settings that are conducive to others who may have experienced similar accounts, personal satisfaction from participating in the research, or result in support to this groups or populations.

What happens to the information collected for the research?

Efforts will be made to limit the use and disclosure of your personal information, including research study and other records, to people who have a need to review this information. We cannot promise complete privacy. Organizations that may inspect and copy your information include the TAMU HRPP/IRB and other representatives of this institution.

The information resulting from your participation may be made available to other researchers in the future for research purposes not detailed within this consent form. In these cases, the data will contain no identifying information that could associate you with it, or with your participation in any study.

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission.

A written report that summarizes the findings of the study will be presented at area, regional, state, and/or national conferences. Information provided, however, will be used solely for the future development and improvement of the area of research.
Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your future relations with Texas A&M University. If you decide to participate, you are free to decide to discontinue participation at any time.

Can I be removed from the research without giving my OK?

We will tell you about any new information that may affect your health, welfare, or choice to stay in the research.

I AGREE	I DISAGREE	
_____	_____	The researcher may audio or video record me to aid with data analysis. The researcher will not share these recordings with anyone outside of the immediate study team or TAMU compliance.
_____	_____	The researcher may audio or video record me for use in scholarly presentations or publications. My identity may be shared as part of this activity, although the researcher will attempt to limit such identification. I understand the risks associated with such identification.
_____	_____	The researcher may contact me in the future to see whether I am interested in participating in other research studies by the principal investigator of this study.

Optional Elements:

The following research activities are optional, meaning that you do not have to agree to them in order to participate in the research study. Please indicate your willingness to participate in these optional activities by placing your initials next to each activity.

Signature Block for Capable Adult
Your signature documents your permission to take part in this research.

Signature of subject	Date
Printed name of subject	
Signature of person obtaining consent	Date
Printed name of person obtaining consent	